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FUKIEN CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

福建協和大學



FUKIEN CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

A Historical Sketch

by

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RODERICK SCOTT



UNITED BOARD FOR CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA
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FOREWORD

AMONG the many aspects of the Christian missionary enterprise of the last seventy-five years one of the most important has been the effort to bring to the countries served the advantages of higher education along Western lines together with the bearing of a clear Christian witness therein. In no country have these developments been more conspicuous than in China, where educational enterprises, begun in the early nineteenth century, flowered in the twentieth in some thirteen colleges and universities under Protestant auspices and largely supported by contributions from Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Now that Communist confiscation has laid its heavy and destructive hand upon the colleges, we become aware of the significant span of Chinese national history which the life of the colleges covered and of the events within and without their walls which have affected their policies, their work, and their success.

Because there is now an interruption in their service — which we pray God may only be temporary — it has seemed the part of wisdom to record the history of each of these institutions that the fruits of their experience may be garnered while those who know their work intimately are able to put down the story. It can well be imagined that discerning minds serving other institutions in other lands may find here that which may contribute guidance and strength to their cause.

It is with this object in view that the United Board for Christian Colleges in China has authorized the series of monographs of which this is one. A great debt is owed to the writers of each one and to those who have assisted them.

Eric M. North

THE AUTHOR

RODERICK SCOTT, A.B., A.M., Haverford; A.M., Harvard; D.D., Pacific School of Religion; Ph.D., University of Southern California; was instructor at Bowdoin and Oberlin Colleges and assistant professor at Earlham College before going to China. He served with the Y. M. C. A. in Russia in 1913 and 1914. He went to China in 1916 under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and served on the staff of Fukien Christian University from 1917 to 1949 — longer than any other person. Almost from the first he taught English composition; later he added philosophy to his repertory. He was dean from 1920 to 1930, during which period he trained two Chinese deans who succeeded him, Theodore H. E. Ch'en and T. H. Cheng. In 1919 he was acting president during the absence of President Jones and again in 1924 to 1925 during President Gowdy's absence. He served as associate dean in the difficult years of 1947 to 1949. On receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Pacific School of Religion, he was given the following citation: "Roderick Scott, vigorous interpreter of the Christian mind to educated non-Christian Chinese, thinker and worker at the point of impact between an ancient culture and a new civilization, missionary who seeks to bind two great peoples together."

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THE SETTING

FUKIEN Christian University is located at Foochow, which is the capital of Fukien Province. The province lies between latitude 24°N. and latitude 28°N. , on the South China Coast. It is about the size of the State of New York. It is surrounded by mountains on three sides and thus has always been isolated from the rest of China. It was known in the T'ang dynasty when it received its name, Fu-chien, "Happy Established"; and in the Sung dynasty when it was, for a short period, one of the cultural centers of the nation, because Chu Hsi, the eminent philosopher of the Neo-Confucian School, made his home in Nanping. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo visited Fukien and included descriptions of several of its cities in his account of his travels.

The terrain of the province is mountainous, making communication difficult, so that the people speak a variety of dialects. The Min River rises in the northwest corner of the province and flows out to the sea at Foochow, which, lying at latitude 26°N. , is directly across the Formosa Channel from the northern tip of that island. In contacts with Japan, Fukien is therefore second only to Manchuria in importance. Foochow was the port of call for the tea clippers from England and New England. The second principal city is Amoy located at the southern end of the province. It is a shipping and mercantile center for the South Seas.

The products of the province are tea, rice, sugar, lacquer, camphor, lumber, fish, citrus fruits and tung oil. Of special interest to Westerners are the Bo-bea (Wu-i) Hills tea, the Foochow lacquer and the Te-hua (white) pottery. The people have a reputation for being intelligent, energetic and independent, second only to the Cantonese as world travelers. The Fukienese in large numbers have settled in the Federated Malay States, the Philippine Islands, Java and Borneo, from which the flow of capital back to China has made possible the cultural and economic rebirth of the people.

STRUGGLE WITH A VISION - 1911 to 1918

"The Christian College is too good to be true". J. W. BUCKHAM¹

IF THE CHRISTIAN colleges of America and England are too good to be true, how much more the Christian colleges of China and India. Whatever be true of India, one can say for China, that never has the marriage of Christianity and education been more successful than in this land where education has been specially honored for two millennia.²

Some reason must be found for the growth, expansion, and popular acceptance of the Christian colleges of China through a period of hardly more than thirty years (1910 to 1945), and especially for such a college in Fukien, which came near not getting a college at all. No other area in the world expansion of Christianity can boast a like accomplishment. Furthermore Christianity was actually declining during this period in the colleges of America.

Three reasons may be offered: first, that the Christian colleges shared with all other Christian and reform movements, including the Revolution itself, in the great spiritual release that came after the Boxer Rebellion. It was like the breaking of a log jam, the combined idealism of the Reformers³ and the missionary movement seemed suddenly ready to overflow the nation. Within a year after the lifting of the siege of the legations (1900) missionary work was going again and within ten years the number of Christians had doubled.⁴ It is true that later the Revolution broke down, Confucianism all but perished, and the percentage of church membership appreciably declined, but there were good historical reasons for these facts and they do not negate the statement that the

first three decades of the century were a period of unprecedented advance for the Christian cause.

The second reason for the success and willing acceptance by the Chinese public of the Christian colleges⁵ was that they brought the Western world to China's doorstep. Their campuses furnished a living demonstration of the central values of Western culture, toward which the East was reaching, however fumblingly, namely science and democracy. The West gave them democracy but in doing so invested in democracy for themselves. The colleges brought also the habit of large-scale organization and trained men and women to handle large institutions, such as had never before existed.⁶ They also developed character in their students, because they knew where they were going, and so furnished a reliable guide amidst the welter of ideologies that demanded allegiance in the young Republic. Later they were challenged by the Chinese government (or public) colleges, with their superior equipment and their entrée to government jobs. The Christian Colleges, of course, had the advantage in teaching English, which was an open sesame to American and English graduate schools, but with their tendency toward secularization, they were often not markedly better than the government institutions.

A third and more subtle reason lies in certain creative syntheses achieved by the Christian institutions, that appealed to the Chinese mind. They were able to unite, in their own persons, missions and the Revolution, Christianity and Confucianism.⁷ In the first instance they were able to tell the Revolution where it was going. "It is the duty of the colleges to interpret the nation to itself," said President Lin, in an address given in the United States in 1934. Thus the Christian colleges were able in some degree to turn the tide of revolution toward cultural rather than merely political and economic ends. This process presented to the missions the temptation to interpret their message in ethical rather than religious terms. Doubtless many did so, though partly because the view in question was popular in the homeland. The practice might have been defended as taking the line of least resistance among a people who had largely lost contact with

high religion, through the drying up, if not the dying out, of their own faiths. When the balance was restored, the churches found that they had staunch allies in the colleges ready to defend and extend them.

The second synthesis was that between Christian and Confucian ethics. This was accomplished by the way in which Christianity seemed to revive certain ideals, dear to the heart of the older Confucianism, somewhat in the manner of the later New Life Movement.⁸ An example is the ideal of the scholar-official, "shih". The official in China was a scholar because he had had to pass the civil service examinations which were based on the Classics. The word originally meant "knight", and Confucius changed it to "scholar" because the official was ideally ready at all times to mount his horse and ride out, King-Arthur fashion, to right the nation's wrongs.⁹ Another example was the synthesis between the old Chinese belief that history is the interplay of personalities rather than events, and the emphasis laid by Christianity on the development of personality. We shall find the histories of the Christian colleges marked by the emergence of superior persons, both men and women, both national and foreign, whom the Chinese have loved to honor. Many of these institutions are indeed the lengthened shadows of great men.

It is then not too much to claim for the Christian colleges of China that they became one of the new social forces of the era, and it should now be evident what a privilege it was to be teachers in these colleges at this time. "To be a teacher for an hour is to be a father for life," as a proverb has it. This honor fell to all, national and foreigner alike.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Fukien Christian University, late as it was in arriving on the scene (1916), shared in the above glories of its sister institutions without much distinction along the major lines of development and successes, but there are certain unique features that set its history apart, not all of them, unfortunately, to its advantage.

On the side of advantage, the first of these distinctive features is the fact that Fukien was deliberately "manufactured". It did not expand gradually from a former high school or unite two or more existing colleges into a larger whole, like most of its sisters. It is true that the student body at first consisted of the two upper classes of the three junior colleges of Foochow, but so unnatural did the union seem, that the institution was barely two months old before the students went on strike and demanded to be returned to their separate schools. The Fukien presidents got early training in student strikes.

The advantage of this ad hoc character was that there were no traditions and no inhibitions to hamper progress; furthermore, because there were no precedents to fall back on, the stated aims of the institution had to be periodically re-examined. The University was continually re-thinking its mission and so was always ready for the various educational commissions which visited China from time to time.

Being without traditions Fukien could make experiments in education, e. g. the Student Republic (a form of student government), or the Practicum in Civic Welfare;¹⁰ could readily adapt itself to arbitrary government regulations, such as required military drill: could take on "devolution" more easily and so forth. Devolution was a missionary term to describe the process of turning authority over to nationals. The first missions were necessarily paternalistic; these new things, church, college and hospital, had perforce to be run by the missionaries. The Burton and Hocking commissions condemned this practice, without due regard to historical realities, but of course paternalism is an insidious thing: the child, we say, is never ready to take over from the parent!

Another fairly unique advantage of Fukien, though shared by Hwa Nan and Huachung Colleges, was its location in a city which was not yet foreignized and which enjoyed a wide reputation as a cultural center; the new Christian college could, so to speak, inherit the old culture. Wuchang, the "Athens of China", where Huachung is situated, of course outshone Foochow, but Foochow had the distinction, of value to Fukien Christian University as well as to Hwa Nan College

at least during the Nationalist Revolution, of being known traditionally as loyal to the Central Government, and this in spite of years of Japanese infiltration from Formosa. The distinction of having an outlet to Nanyang, as the Chinese call the South Pacific, where now the principals of half the Chinese schools are Fukien graduates, was shared also by Hwa Nan and by Lingnan University in Canton.

But perhaps the advantages were outweighed by the disadvantages. Among these was the fact that the institution lacked substance and reputation because it was new and unknown; thus it took fifteen years for Fukien to get its alumni organized.

Again the late start resulted in the institution's having to live through wars, large and small, before it was ready. If it was to advance, it had to be "advance through storm." ¹¹ The College was founded when the First World War was going on; in the Second World War it had to leave its campus. There were six other wars in thirty years. In fact, there were few really peaceful years.

And finally, since Fukien had not grown out of anything, its founders lacked experience.

THE FOUNDERS

It should be stated in defense of the founders and of the Boards of Managers and Trustees which carried on the administration of the infant institution that the idea of a university in Foochow was not theirs to start with, but actually originated in the city of Edinburgh.

"There ought to be Christian colleges in the great strategic centers of the world, for Christianity by reason of its universal message has a unique part to play in the work of education." Thus spoke the great Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, through its Commission III on "Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life." ¹²

Pursuant to such a directive, the Commission appointed a sub-Committee on Higher Education and asked John Goucher to be its chairman. As far as China was concerned, the plan for "colleges all round the world," called for institutions at

four strategic centers: Peking in North China, Nanking in East China, Ch'engtu in West China and Foochow in South China.

Less than a year after the Edinburgh meeting, John Goucher arrived in Foochow. Christian statesman and educator, he was a happy choice for a man to dot the world with Christian colleges. Born in 1845, he had been a member of the **Board** of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church since 1884, and he had served as president of the **Woman's College** of Baltimore from 1890 to 1908, the name of which had been changed to Goucher College in 1910 to do him honor. He not only aided in the founding of Fukien, but he maintained a deep interest for many years, serving as a **Trustee and revisiting** Foochow many times.

Fukien began then on the twenty-fifth day of **March**, 1911, at a meeting of "those interested in Christian Higher Education," convened at the call of John Goucher in the home of John Gowdy, another person long connected with Fukien's fortunes.

The speeches and discussion at this gathering must have been persuasive, for the following vote was cast unanimously:

We consider it not only desirable but essential to establish in the Province of Fukien a union university in which all the Protestant denominations may join and which shall include bachelor, post-graduate and professional courses.¹³

The six missions in Fukien were asked to appoint one representative each to form Preliminary Committees on Christian Higher Education in Fukien Province, one for Foochow, one for Amoy, 250 miles away. In Foochow were the American Congregational (American Board), the Church of England (Church Missionary Society), and Methodist Missions; in Amoy, the American Reformed Mission, the English Congregationalists (the London Mission) and the English Presbyterian Mission.

What Bishop J.W. Bashford, of the Methodist Church, had to say is still of interest. As reported in the minutes of the meeting, these were his words:

"The increase of the state universities (in America) is shutting off the denominational colleges; especially has the University of Chicago¹⁴ endangered the life of all the small denominational colleges of the Mississippi Valley. When this fact was brought to the attention of John D. Rockefeller, he inaugurated the General Educational Foundation to study the small colleges and assist such of them as are strategically located. For the denominational college supplies the religious motivation lacking in the state university. Now the small denominational colleges of China are facing a similar situation: the government institutions are growing in numbers and efficiency, witness Hongkong University within fifty miles of Canton Christian College. The boards cannot supply funds to enable them to compete with each other and with the government universities; only by uniting can they hold their own. There is, finally, a well-founded hope that John D. Rockefeller might assist well-located Union Christian universities in China."

The next five months saw the organization of two Preliminary Committees, one in Foochow which met for the first time on August 11, and the other in Amoy, holding its initial meeting on September 14. They discussed standards, media of instruction, and location, settling on Foochow. The delegates reported to their several missions a general approval of the university project.

There now follows, in the record, a stretch of three years, 1912, 1913, 1914, when little seems to have been done about the Foochow university project. But the fortunes of the infant institution were, as it happens, in the hands of two men of great vision, the earliest of Fukien's "towering personalities", of whom mention has been made. Their correspondence, from which excerpts will be made, indicates how great were the difficulties that had to be overcome as well as that "gradualness" was unavoidable.

Fukien was fortunate in having among its early advocates two men of the stature of Abbe Livingston Warnshuis and Lewis Hodous. Warnshuis was a missionary in the Reformed Church of America and was located in Amoy where he served from 1900 to 1915; later he held the post of secretary of the

International Missionary Council for many years. It is significant that his mission was the first to contribute to Fukien Christian University and has always been a staunch supporter. How quickly Warnshuis' interest was caught is shown by a letter written to his board in September, 1913, wherein he urges them "to take a large share in the new institution in view of the importance of higher education as a missionary method, the aim being both to educate Chinese youth in general and to keep Christian youth from having to go to the Government institutions with their atheistic tendencies." He then outlines the arguments for having a Christian college in Fukien. In effect he asks the board to consider: (1) the start Christian work has made in the Province of Fukien, surpassed only in Kuangtung in age, extensiveness and efficiency. In fact Fukien had the largest number of church members in the country, and in Fukien were located the oldest Congregational mission, the oldest Reformed Church mission, and the oldest and largest Methodist area in China; (2) the advantage of many high-grade preparatory schools; (3) the favorable attitude toward Christian education displayed by non-Christian students as the result of the Eddy campaigns; (4) the demands of Christian students for higher education; (5) lastly, the low cost. He might have added the geographical isolation. Fukien had to be considered as a place apart.¹⁵

It is significant that Warnshuis, whose own mission was very strong in Amoy, should have voted with the others for Foochow as the location for the proposed University. Each city offered distinctive values. Amoy is a great commercial port. Foochow is the provincial capital with, as stated, something of a cultural reputation. This cultural reputé plus the fact that Foochow was less foreignized than Amoy apparently decided the issue.

It had long been traditional for Fukien's bright sons and daughters to leave home for northern or southern cities where they often rose to prominence, while the home acre they might have served declined; in addition, Amoy girls and boys sought careers in the South Seas; nobody was left in Fukien but the missionaries! Fukien Christian University and Hwa Nan College soon changed this.

The second of the early enthusiasts for Fukien Christian University was Lewis Hodous. The fact that of the two men, Warnshuis and Hodous, Hodous assumed the larger share of the responsibility for the University, may be accounted for partly by the simple fact that he lived in Foochow, where he was a member of the American Board (Congregational) Mission, but mostly because of his "passion for union." Before the word ecumenicity had been invented, he was working ecumenically. Before devolution came into the vocabulary, Hodous had prepared his fellow missionaries for it. Writes a friend concerning him: "For the sixteen years of Hodous' service in Foochow, no one was more influential in directing policies of devolution in the Chinese church and educational policies among the missions. It is only just that Dr. Hodous should be given full credit for the vision and inauguration of the Fukien University." ¹⁶

Unrelated units of Christian work seemed to become unions at the mere touch of this remarkable man. In one letter to his homeboard he lists the union activities which were going concerns and adds for good measure a few more which were pending: "Tract Society, Union Book Concern, Union Medical College (1911), Union Theological Seminary (1912), Union High School (1913), a Sunday School secretary, a Union Sunday School Institute, a Preachers' Institute, a Bible Women's Institute, a Union Hymn Book in press, Union Christian Endeavor, Union Sunday School lessons. Projected: Union University, Union Women's College, Union Women's School; a Union Kindergarten Training School, organized but not in operation." ¹⁷

If the years 1912 and 1913 seem relatively silent in the history of Fukien University, it was because the idea had to be sold to the home boards. Hodous evidently inspired the following joint statement, for it reveals the kind of advanced missionary thinking he was noted for. The signatures are: Lewis Hodous, E.H. Smith, Elizabeth Perkins, Josephine Walker, all of the American Board Mission in Foochow:

"A new opportunity and responsibility face us; the political revolution typifies the intellectual change that is sweeping over

this vast multitude. The people are boldly seeking and accepting new ideas and guidance as never before. Old ideas are being discarded almost recklessly. Our church schools and colleges are in a position to exert tremendous influence toward conserving the best of the old and directing the assimilation of the new; these institutions must then be strengthened and enlarged. Education is bound to be one of the cornerstones on which the new Republic is founded. Even before the Revolution we had plans for union work with Anglican and Methodist brethren. Now we stress the importance of pushing these plans to an early completion. Advance in educational work must receive our immediate attention, to mould the new civilization that is to be. Yet our forces are so reduced as to make any advance impossible. We feel constrained to issue a call to meet this challenge." ¹⁸

Parallel with Warnshuis' letter to his board in September, 1913, already quoted, should be read one by Hodous to his board on May 8:

"Your letter regarding the union of educational effort in Foochow arrived the same day as our sending. You have lightened us of the task of persuading you of the necessity and feasibility of a union university and there remains only to outline the needs and to discuss the basis of union. We cannot over-emphasize the necessity of a good foreign university in this transition period. China is not yet ready for her democracy. What we need is a real college in which we can give students the historical, scientific, and philosophic spirit: these are obtainable only in senior year, whereas the junior colleges we have run only to sophomore. As for the government schools, their present status is a matter for tears. The three missions of Foochow have agreed that none of them have enough to run a first class college. John Gowdy has the best (junior) college, but he says he is heart and soul in favor of a union university and he believes it to be the only real solution to our problem. The English mission is heartily in favor of the proposed union. Of the six missions, it is evident that at least three (or four) will stick to the project; about \$60,000 per share. We ask

you for this sum. And send us new men, equipped with such subjects as Mathematics, History, Philosophy, Biology and Education."

Meanwhile things had started again. The Preliminary Committees held their second meeting in February, 1913, and drafted a constitution; a third meeting in August re-drafted the constitution, which begins: "We members of the cooperating missions do found and establish the Foochow Christian University in order to educate men for Christian leadership and to promote higher education in China under Christian influences and in harmony with the Word of God."

But there had been withdrawals. The London Mission and the English Presbyterians, both in Amoy, declined to participate in the University though they expressed agreement with "the necessity of such an institution." The American Baptist Mission of Swatow, though located in the province of Kuangtung, worked within the Amoy-Foochow circles, and appointed a committee to study the problem of missionary education work. But it did not come into the union. The American Board Mission and the Methodist Mission, however, reported that their respective missions had voted to accept the constitution of the Union University and had included in their budgets for 1914, estimates providing for full participation.

Hodous could write to his board on November 24, 1913: "We hope to open September, 1914." And Dr. Goucher had written on October 9 congratulating the committee on its progress and offering counsel and assistance. But after the fourth meeting of the Preliminary Committee on March 24, 1914, Hodous wrote (April 18): "A phase of the Union University is forcing itself upon us as the days pass and nothing is done. Three boards must act. We are waiting for the boards to act (that is, form a Board of Trustees and take initial financial steps). Dutch Reformed people have taken action. If our own board could take action (the Mission had acted, not the board) and the Methodists do the same, the project would be placed on a better footing. But boards are conservative and hard up for money. We have appointed John Gowdy to represent us at home. We have more to show

than many a university because of the departments already in existence:

Medical	21
Normal	41
Theol	<u>104</u>
TOTAL	166

Our Arts department will start with fifty at least; can you give us formal approval soon?"

Willard L. Beard, Hodous' colleague in the American Board Mission, had written on April 13, "We could have wished the Prudential Committee (of the American Board) had more faith in the Union University."

On December 14, Hodous offered an explanation of the frustration he was undoubtedly feeling: "Can you give us a lift in support of this union effort? We are still absorbed in cultivating our little patches. When union comes up we enquire what will benefit our cultivation of our patches. If the benefit is not self-evident, we think, so much the worse for the union. The heads of the various schools are considering how they may cooperate in giving Arts courses without yet forming a university. In the three schools we have more students of freshman grade than Canton Christian College, University of Nanking, or St. John's. Taking us alone we are now ready to start a university, bigger than any other unless it be Shantung."

On January 16, 1915, Hodous wrote stressing the importance of what he called "educational evangelism," spoke of the success of the educational work of Congregational missions in producing Christian leaders and concluded with the prophetic words, "Without a union university, our superiority cannot continue."

Meanwhile, back in mid-August, 1914, there had been another meeting at which representatives of the Anglicans (Church Missionary Society) had challenged the whole enterprise. They asked: "Is a university required in Fukien? Are the missions prepared, as they seem to be, to start without adequate buildings, equipment or endowment? An institution like this should be founded on support obtained

outside not inside the missions. The Church Missionary Society will do no more than agree to fill staff vacancies when we are able."

The British had certainly had less experience founding colleges or at least in founding them on shoe-strings than the Americans, but although they did not say so, this protest touched a key spot in Fukien's problem: a college cannot start without money, but until it has started, it cannot ask for money.

The Reformed Church on the other hand said, "We wish to share in the great enterprise and pledge herewith one teacher and an annual contribution of \$1,500."

The final union consisted of the Reformed Mission at Amoy, and the Anglican, Methodist and Congregational Missions at Foochow.

Dr. Warnshuis does not seem to have been dismayed at the delay as Dr. Hodous evidently was. He wrote under date of August 31, 1914, "We have not taken any steps we shall have to retrace."

By the beginning of 1915 it was evident that things at last were under way. Goucher was in Foochow again having just come to the coast after a visit to West China Union University in Ch'engtu. At a meeting of the Preliminary Committee, (March 17), he stressed the opportunities open to a university located in Foochow: (1) it was far removed from other university centers; and (2) it had a large and growing constituency. Furthermore it would be the only college for men within a 300 mile radius. He advocated the policy, which was adopted by the Committee, of uniting the two upper classes of the three junior colleges in Foochow, the Anglo-Chinese College (Methodist), St. Mark's College (Anglican), and Foochow College (Congregational) to form a union arts course; he offered \$1,500 and suggested that \$500 a year be asked from each mission. This was later raised to \$1,500 as the basic unit entitling the mission making such a contribution, to one member on the Board of Managers; provision of one teacher would give the same right. The group also decided to invite Edwin Chester Jones to be Fukien's first president. On March 30, they met again and drew up

a set of by-laws by which the Board of Managers could operate.

Then came the first meeting of the Board, May 25, 1915; just four years and two months after the idea of a Fukien Christian University had been broached. The records show that there was vacillation about the name: Fukien Union University was used in 1914, Fukien Christian College in 1915, Fukien Union College in 1916, Fukien Christian University in 1918. The Chinese name chosen in 1915 remained without change, Fu Chien Hsieh Ho Ta Hsüeh, meaning Fukien Union University. Everybody at that time tossed the words college and university around indiscriminately. Later the Chinese Government established rigid definitions and terms for various ranks of schools.

In the course of the summer of 1915 the new president was authorized to rent the old Russian tea-hong at the top of the hundred steps above Kuanyin Well Street in Ch'angch'ien Hill. This was the "foreign district" south of the Min, about a mile and a half from the walled-city part of Foochow. Here were the consulates, foreign residences and the mission compounds of the Methodists and Anglicans. The American Board compound and schools were inside the walled city. The building in question was owned by the Union Normal School. President Jones was authorized to spend \$1,300 on equipment and in hiring two nationals to give instructions in the Chinese language; to set up and advertize entrance examinations and to get started. It is interesting that Hodous had advanced some funds from the Union Theological Seminary treasury, of which he was president, and had purchased a tract of land about a half mile south of the Ch'angch'ien Hill settlement, near some extensive Anglican properties. This was never used but it brought in some income for several years. Foochow College had lent the new school its library and the Anglo-Chinese College gave the use of its science laboratories in mornings. The missions had responded to the call for faculty by releasing some of their best men: for the Methodists, E. C. Jones, C. M. L. Sites, C. R. Kellogg; for the Anglicans, J. B. Carpenter, W. Pakenham-Walsh, and W. P. W. Williams serving as treasurer; for the Congre-

gationalists, C. A. Neff, with L. Hodous and G. M. Newell part-time.

THE DOORS OPEN

I n 1916 then, on the sixteenth of February, Fukien Christian University opened its doors to eighty-six students. On February 28, 1916, Hodous wrote: "We have begun; we are not only the newest but one of the largest colleges in China." Of the first eighty-six students, seventy came from Foochow, nine from Amoy, three from the Philippines; fifty-four were freshmen, twenty-seven sophomores; seventy-two were Christians. All came from mission schools. The old tea-hong furnished rooms for dormitories, classrooms, offices and dining hall. Formal opening was postponed owing to political conditions, which Hodous described in the letter referred to as "the withdrawal of the military and civil governors from life outside their yamens." These were the so-called warlords of Fukien, the generals and free-lance adventurers who followed Yüan Shih-k'ai when Sun Yat-sen yielded the government to him. They remained in power in various provinces until the Second Revolution in 1927.

On July 27, 1916, the Preliminary Committee met for the last time to hear a report of their venture. Shortly after this, leaving Clarence A. Neff as acting president, President Jones departed for the United States where he labored to form a "Committee on Organization and Incorporation of Fukien Christian University." This committee consisted of F. M. North and W. W. Carman for the Methodists; W. I. Chamberlain and W. B. Hill for the Reformed Church, and Dwight Goddard and W. E. Strong for the Congregationalists.

This group appointed two sub-committees, one to secure a charter and the other to confer with the China Medical Board as to the possibility of aid for premedical studies. On February 16, 1918, after more than a year's meetings and negotiations, the Committee on Organization resolved itself into the Board of Trustees of Fukien Christian University, with the Church Missionary Society represented by three persons nominated by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society

of the Protestant Episcopal Church, U. S. A. The Board then listened to progress reports from its two sub-committees, both favorable. The charter recommended was a document from the Regents of the University of the State of New York, permitting the college to grant degrees. The Regents granted Fukien Christian University a provisional charter on June 18, 1918, and a permanent charter in 1934. Eight of the Christian Colleges in China were eventually thus incorporated. To give these American degrees, though irregular from a strictly nationalistic standpoint, had the advantage of establishing equality from the start with American colleges granting bachelor's degrees. Later, that is from 1931 to 1936, two degrees were given, the American and a diploma stamped by the Chinese government; after that the American diploma was discontinued.

As for the China Medical Board, the Rockefeller interests had in 1909 sent out to China an Oriental Educational Commission under Professor Ernest DeWitt Burton of the University of Chicago. Another commission under Henry Pratt Judson, President of the University of Chicago, came to China in 1914 specifically to study medical education. As a result of its recommendations, the China Medical Board was founded in 1914 as a subsidiary of the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1915 still another commission was sent to China, including in its personnel Simon Flexner, Director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. This resulted in the purchase and reorganization of the Peking Union Medical College. Realizing that it would need a supply of well-qualified students to draw upon for its future doctors, the China Medical Board announced its readiness to subsidize premedical and science units in the arts and science colleges of China. Without high standards in science teaching there was little hope of high standards in medicine. Working with the sub-committee, President Jones, with his customary eloquence, laid the case of Fukien Christian University before the China Medical Board. The Board was favorably impressed and made an immediate grant for the five-year period 1918 to 1923. Subsequent five-year grants were as follows: 1923 to 1928 and 1928 to 1933, extended to 1935, when the grants came to an end.

The arguments used by President Jones were as follows: (1) the large enrollment plus the prospect of the same number the next and subsequent years; (2) the large number of Christians in the province, which should ensure proper Christian leadership in the medical profession; (3) the general receptivity among non-Christians toward western medicine which would lessen the temptation to medical students to become quacks; (4) the tendency to make the medical profession in Fukien self-supporting at an earlier date than elsewhere in China; (5) the inveterate Fukien habit of travel all over China and East Asia would tend to spread western medicine. Jones concluded his statement with the words: "In the light of these facts it will not seem, I am sure, that the estimates are for greater amounts than can be put to effective use immediately in Fukien Union College."

At the meeting of the Committee on Organization and Incorporation on June 11, 1917, President Jones had announced that negotiations were under way to purchase forty acres of land as a permanent site for the University, to be paid for by a part of a fund of \$25,000 given by Mrs. D. Willis James, as a result of the efforts made in behalf of Fukien University by John Gowdy when in America in 1914 as a representative of the Board of Managers. Hodous had assisted Jones in the early negotiations for this land-buying but had returned permanently to America in the summer of 1917 to become a professor in the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation. On February 4, 1918, President Jones invited Hodous to become a Trustee. He was thus enabled to bring his wisdom, experience and vision to bear on many a difficult problem and so to help his former colleagues. How fitting was this honor is indicated by his friend, Edward H. Smith, in a letter previously quoted: "It is a marked personal victory for Hodous that the University exists."



MAKING A COLLEGE - 1919 to 1923

ON APRIL 4, 1919, the Board of Trustees elected Edwin C. Jones first president of Fukien Christian University. Lewis Hodous had written of Jones: "He is a royal fellow and knows how to handle men, both Chinese and missionaries."¹ The years, 1919 to 1923, were to call out all that Jones had in the way of understanding, ability and vision. Fukien was late in getting under way as has been stated; it had to start fast and start big; both assignments would appeal to a man of Jones' type of heart and mind. His success in "making a college" endeared him to students, alumni and friends, so that even after his death he was "The University" to them, and also marked him as one of Fukien's greatest personalities.

Edwin Chester Jones was born in 1880 in Flushing, N. Y., the son of a Methodist minister. He "prepped" at Wilbraham Academy in Massachusetts and graduated from Wesleyan University in Connecticut in 1904, where he belonged to Phi Beta Kappa, the Student Volunteer group, and the college glee club. For years he conducted the inter-school choruses in Foochow. Later his alma mater gave both to him and to President C. J. Lin, at different times, honorary doctorates. He had also an A. M. degree in Chemistry from Yale University obtained during a furlough. He sailed for China immediately after graduation, under appointment as teacher of science in the (Methodist) Anglo-Chinese College of Foochow. When he died in 1924 at the age of forty-four an obituary emphasized his mastery of the Chinese language, his international character and the "foursquaredness" of his life. It said further: "He was never to be found in an unsocial mood...

At official affairs he was never at a loss; never made a mistake... Like the Master whom he served, he had no office hours. He was ready for his boys, always... Wherever he went he was our spiritual leader, wise and reverent and humble; distrustful of his own strength, but ever trusting the future to the creative power of God in men of good will, whether himself or others." ²

"He was an invincible optimist," says an alumnus, "obstacles went down before him. The nervous and spiritual force of this one man made our college what it is." "We never thought of him as being older than ourselves," writes another; though he must have been then twice their age. Two lines in a Fukien college song seem to be a portrait of E. C. Jones:

Make us eager to aid our generation

Loving God and loving men and strong to serve.

What Jones accomplished in the way of making a college in these last five years of his life was: (1) to lay out the new campus, engage architects, hire and oversee a builder, all including himself, without experience in large-scale building in China; (2) engage a faculty and organize a curriculum that should place the new Chinese college on an academic level with long established American colleges; and (3) find the money for buildings and equipment and faculty. These in the ordinary course of things, but in addition Dr. Jones had in this half decade to meet and somehow overcome two major events that came near to destroying the college almost before it got started. These were: (1) the Chinese Student Movement of 1919 to 1922; and (2) the unfavorable report of the Burton Commission of 1922. Finally, Jones had to educate his Board of Managers (in China) and his Board of Trustees (in America) and the missions they represented to their opportunities and responsibilities.

THE CAMPUS

Mention has been made of the gift that made possible the purchase of a permanent site for Fukien University. ³

President Jones had reported on this site to the Trustees on June 11, 1917, and on September 28, the Trustees had approved the report. The campus of Fukien Christian University has often been described but never better than by George B. Dutcher, Professor of History in Wesleyan University and a friend of all three presidents, Jones, Gowdy and Lin. Writing to Hodous on January 7, 1922, during a second visit to Foochow, he said, "The new site will probably rank among the best ten college locations in the world."

The original purchase, made almost all at one time, which is very unusual in China where land is sold almost by the potato hill, consisted of fifty acres of plain and hillside on the north bank of the Min River, some ten miles below the city of Foochow and fifteen miles above Pagoda Anchorage, which in turn is some thirty miles west of the mouth of the river, at Sharp Peak. In a wide V formed by the spreading foothills of Kushan (Drum Mountain), lie the athletic fields of Fukien University together with experimental farms, a warehouse and a student dining hall; on the lower slopes of the surrounding hills are student dormitories, faculty residences and a gas plant; on the summit of a bold ridge to the east are the Arts and Science halls, the president's house, and residences. Trees abound and when the campus is neglected, as has frequently happened during the many wars, the jungle rushes in, almost as it does in India.⁴ Nestled in the folding hills an hour's walk from the campus, is the famous Kushan (Buddhist) Monastery. The ravines generally run back into tiger grass and wild country, but as in all South China, there are little farms and cultivated patches all over the hills and mountains.

That is the campus as it is today. When President Jones surveyed the purchase which he, Lewis Hodous, John Gowdy, Willard Beard⁵ and their Chinese assistant had made, there was nothing there but some rice fields, some potato fields and the bare red hillsides; no trees at all save where "fengshui" had preserved a few clumps of tall pines around a temple or a grave. This is the prevailing landscape of Southern China, where for centuries the poverty-stricken peasant has denuded the hilltops of vegetation in an unending search for fuel.

"Fengshui" is that complex of taboo and geomancy which forbade disturbance of the vegetation around a sacred spot.

There was no road from Foochow to the campus, none from the campus to the Anchorage; no jetty at which a launch or a cargo boat carrying lumber or bricks could dock; it was truly virgin soil. To say "no roads" is not strictly correct; all South China, up to the highest and most inaccessible mountains, is crisscrossed with stone paths and steps, set with infinite labor and worn hollow by the bare feet of countless carriers, some bearing a yoke with a load slung at each end, some traveling in pairs carrying the ends of a pole on their shoulders with the load slung between them, and others in teams of two or four carrying sedan chairs. Later there were roads and bus service, but the general isolation of the campus was rarely disturbed. This made possible the physical conditions conducive to good study and reflective thinking.

Shortly after the purchase of the permanent site, the Board of Trustees had invited the Chicago architectural firm of Shattuck and Hussey to submit an over-all plan for a campus layout. For some reason, this now forgotten picture was drawn with total disregard for the topographical features of the actual terrain and so was useless from the start; on October 10, 1919, however, another firm, Murphy and Dana, was engaged and produced a picture which was drawn with a view to facts and for many years proved a satisfactory objective to work toward, though it was never completely materialized. Henry Killam Murphy was an American architect with a wide experience of the Orient and an artistic imagination. His buildings can be found on many a college campus in China and in many a city throughout the Orient; later he was engaged for the Sun Yat-sen Memorial buildings at Nanking. He abandoned all attempts to imitate Western college buildings and boldly set eastern temple roofs on western science halls and dormitories.

The actual erection of the buildings was directed from 1919 to 1923 by C. B. Mills, an American engineer, engaged by Jones. After Mills left, the Fukien Construction Bureau, a subsidiary of the Methodist Church in Foochow, took over the building operations, assisted on the campus by F. C. Martin,

professor of Physics.

By the Spring term of 1922 enough had been built in the way of temporary structures to enable the college to be moved from Kuanyin Well Street to the new campus at Kueichi.⁶ This was the name of a village of 200 "tsao" (i. e. kitchens: this being the basis of Chinese census taking), a quarter mile east of the campus. There were still not enough residences and in 1922 to 1923 many members of the faculty had to commute by the native river launches; as these ran on a tidal schedule, the teachers in this year were rarely on time for their classes, as may be imagined! In 1923 a commodious gasoline launch was obtained, but the struggle with transport by water over the years is a story too long to tell, though it had its moments of romance as well as of disaster.

THE FACULTY

President Jones spent the year 1919 in America, making friends for the new college, raising money, getting plans approved and engaging teachers. The majority of the western faculty were engaged then or shortly after.⁷ Sites, Kellogg and Neff were still with the faculty and Scott had joined in the fall of 1917 for English, adding philosophy to his repertory in 1921. He was dean from 1920 to 1930; in this period he also trained the Chinese deans who succeeded him, Theodore Ch'en and T. H. Cheng. In 1919 he was acting president during President Jones' absence in the States and again in 1924 to 1925 during President Gowdy's absence. In 1921 Scott conceived the idea of visiting the other budding Christian colleges of China and interviewing their presidents, business managers, deans, and professors of English and philosophy. He managed to get to see all the colleges but one; the trip brought invaluable information and inspiration.

Little was done in this period to make an original curriculum or one especially adapted to China, the college being content with the fewest possible fundamentals, but these were well taught, in fact the teaching level at Fukien was always high. "Civic Welfare", an idea of C. M. L. Sites, was, however, an original project. The course is thus described in

an early catalogue:

PRACTICUM IN CIVIC WELFARE. Required of Sophomores, Juniors and Seniors. Credits one in each semester. The following lines of work are offered: Boys' Clubs; Free Schools; Social Surveys; Extension Work of Science Departments (public health, agricultural improvement, etc.)

Various plans were made for departments beyond the conventional Arts and Sciences, but none of these developed. The Foochow Union Medical College founded in 1915 had been an integral part of Fukien University from 1916 to 1921, when it disbanded; there was talk of a theological department with Hodous as dean; of a college of education; even of co-education; and for two years R. B. Blakney conducted a missionary language school in the Foochow dialect. He was professor of mathematics and physics from 1921 to 1927, but was also an accomplished linguist; his studies resulted in the publication of a book, "A Study of Chinese Characters", published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai. A sub-freshman year was authorized in 1921 and continued thereafter for over a decade; this was to provide extra instruction in English and Chinese for the graduates of the many poorly-equipped government schools.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The Student Movement became an important factor in university life in this period. The specific occasion of the rise of the Student Movement was the demonstration on May 4, 1919, by the students in Peking against the terms of the Treaty about to be signed at Versailles, confirming the Japanese in control of the port of Tsingtao, which they had captured from Germany. The Student Movement was frequently referred to later as the May Fourth Movement. The students had previously been deeply humiliated, when, on May 25, 1915, the Chinese had been forced by Japan to sign a document accepting most of the notorious Twenty-One Demands. These two dates in May became "days of shame" as well as school

holidays and quite frequently also occasions for agitation of one kind or another. The idea of celebrating your nation's shame may seem a strange form of patriotism, but lacking positive ideals to which the people could aspire, the youths could only seek to arouse popular responsibility for better government in this negative way. This period, it must be remembered, was 1919, by which time the revolution as set up by Sun Yat-sen had pretty well broken down; it had been premature in starting.

The point just made may serve to show whence the Student Movement drew its vitality. In their mass meetings and parades, the students of China voiced public opinion in a unique way; they were bold critics of government.

The movement was not specifically anti-Christian, but because it came to stand for Nationalism and because Christianity seemed to be a foreign religion, the connection was not difficult to draw. The so-called Anti-Christian Movement that flared up in Peking, concurrently with the meeting there in 1922 of the World's Student Christian Federation, was a temporary offshoot of the main movement.

The question for those at Fukien was: had they enough strength of their own to stand the shock of this phenomenon in Oriental history, the self-propelled student masses?

When the Student Movement struck Foochow in the spring of 1919, Roderick Scott was acting president of the University. He had been in China only three years, and had had no experience of being a college president. The college was saved by the good sense of its own students, as appears from the following report made by President Jones to the Trustees in October 1919: "During the anti-Japanese demonstration over the settlement of the Shantung question at the Peace Conference, a Students' League was formed in Foochow of both government and mission school students. It was gratifying that students from mission schools were the leaders in this movement because their leadership tended to make the whole movement saner and quieter than if it had been under the entire control of less well-balanced government school students. The president and the secretary were both University students." So, though the turmoil of the times cost a whole term's work,



Edwin Chester Jones, President 1916 to 1923



John Gowdy, President 1923 to 1927

the college was in no way disrupted and the "vacation" in the fall of 1919 proved valuable in a number of ways, e.g. the new professors could get down to business in language study, and it was possible to shift the year from spring-fall to fall-spring, like American colleges.

In the fall of 1922 Clarence Neff organized a "Student Republic" which was an original variation of the "Student Council" which had already been functioning as a link between the student body and the faculty. The Student Republic had three features which specially fitted it to meet the recurring student crises: (1) it depended on the students and so could not be criticized by them; (2) it was so complex as to absorb a lot of energy and a majority of students; (3) as a Student Republic it was as nationalistic as the Student Movement itself. The two went together. Many of Fukien's ablest graduates could look back with gratitude to the practical politics they learned in the Student Council and the Student Republic. One thinks of Garfield Huang, (Huang Chia-hui), of the class of 1921, for many years a secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, and Chang Wen-li, who once organized a new political party almost single-handed, and Dr. Lin Mou-sheng, 1926, now on the permanent secretariat of the United Nations.

THE BURTON COMMISSION

The Burton Recommendations also threatened the young institution. In 1912 Warnshuis and others had suggested that Professor Burton be asked to head up another commission, this time to survey the whole field of Christian education and to make recommendations. After considerable negotiation, a commission was organized; it sailed from Vancouver in August, 1921. Its findings were published in a volume entitled "Christian Education in China" (New York, 1922). The members of the Commission visited Foochow in November, 1921. Many of their recommendations were excellent and were accepted as standards for years to come by missionary educators. What is important for this narrative was their proposal that, because Fukien had had a late start, because it had few friends and little money, and because it was the

"natural thing" for Fukienese young people to go to Shanghai to college, where there were several excellent institutions to choose from, it, Fukien, be reduced to the status of a junior college. Jones naturally saw here the end of his dream and, preceded by a telegram, he forthwith posted off to Shanghai to catch the Commission before it left China's shores. He presented his statistics, his program, and his convictions. They were the same arguments which had persuaded the China Medical Board four years earlier and which Dr. Warnshuis had listed for his Board in 1913. President Jones' eloquence won the day and the Commission forthwith changed its recommendations to read: "That in view of the limited content of this area the present Fukien Christian University be maintained as the only institution doing junior and senior college work, and that the senior college offer a single course in arts, education and theology," on the ground that these were the least expensive subjects. But having the China Medical Board aid, Fukien continued its science work and actually did not take on theology until 1948. The Commission also recommended that the Woman's College of South China (Hwa Nan College) 'be made a union college, affiliated with Fukien Christian University.' " ⁸

IDEALS OF LEADING PERSONALITIES

Mention has been made several times of Fukien's "personalities." Each of these men left a distinctive mark on the life of the college and on the mind of his successor. Warnshuis was the earliest person to see where the institution's destiny pointed. Hodous stood for union, now enshrined in the Chinese name of the college, Hsieh Ho. ⁹ Jones, too, left the impress of his personality on Fukien. He embodied three ideals of great value for future development: identification or solidarity, detachment and the pioneer spirit.

Jones did not conceive of Fukien as an ivory tower for communing with the eternal verities. He early sought to identify the college's fortunes with the Christian movement and the Christian church in China, and saw to it that the institution took the lead in cooperative Christian enterprises;

President Lin it was who organized the Fukien Christian Educational Association.

President Gowdy in the same manner sought to identify the college's life with the Nationalist movement; this led him to take the lead among missionary college presidents in China in resigning in favor of a national during the second or Nationalist Revolution of 1927. The point to be made is that he insisted on resigning long before most other missionaries thought it was really necessary. President Lin carried this ideal of "solidarity" still further in making the college into an institution that should "serve the Fukien people" and make their cause its own.

But while Jones believed in solidarity he also believed in a measure of detachment, which was a great aid to growth.¹⁰ The institution would be itself without undue pressure from any source; it would lead not follow. It was helped in this by geographical factors: it was too far from the city of Foochow for "government" to affect its independence; by historical factors, established by four missions, and formed from three schools, it was under the control of no one church or school. This habit of self-containment stood the University in good stead in the troubles of 1927 as well as when it became a refugee institution in 1938.

Finally Jones was a pioneer, though he did not look like one. He wore a well-trimmed Vandyke beard and was the best dressed man in Foochow. The pioneer "advances through storm", he can hold the vision when nothing is being done; he can apply himself to many different tasks; he is the master of change. The pioneering art, i. e. creative imagination, had been lost in Chinese culture, sunk in Confucian conservatism. The missionaries, themselves pioneers of another kind, restored the art and so prepared China for its revolutions and the chaos that accompanied them. Once, in 1938, when some of the faculty complained of the confusions that surrounded them, President Lin said, "China will have chaos yet for a quarter of a century; if you missionaries cannot 'take it' you had better go back home to your countries." So well was Jones' lesson learned that Fukien, as has been stated, actually grew in war time, (1937 to 1945) both in size of student

body and in national reputation. The national slogan of that war, "K'ang Chien", Resist-Construct, is a pioneer's slogan.¹¹

As that alumnus said, Jones, in that critical half decade "made Fukien". It is entirely fitting that his should be the one western name engraved on a building on the Fukien campus, over the entrance of the "Edwin C. Jones Memorial Science Hall".¹²



PROGRESS - 1923 to 1931

IN the spring of 1923 it became evident that President Jones was ill, but whether he was more than simply worn out by his ceaseless labors of nearly a decade was not clear. He was, however, granted two years' leave for health reasons and John Gowdy was made acting president; Jones left Foochow on April 9. There was talk of his becoming financial agent for the college but he found it necessary to devote all his time to recovery of his health and he resigned as president on September 17. His illness was finally diagnosed as encephalitis lethargica, that is, sleeping sickness; he recovered from this, but died soon after of bronchial pneumonia, on May 30, 1924, in the city of Baltimore.

With Jones' resignation, the Board of Managers immediately proposed Gowdy as the second president of Fukien Christian University. The choice was most opportune. Developments, both within and without the institution called for leadership of the highest order; and John Gowdy met all tests.

Gowdy had been a member of the original Preliminary Committee and then of the Board of Managers. He had always fostered the "idea of a university" for Fukien. He had been a lifelong friend and college mate of President Jones. He was one of the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the province, and he was held in esteem by all missions as well as by government officials and consular and business circles in both Foochow and Amoy. He had been president for many years of the Anglo-Chinese College both before and after it became a high school, shorn of its junior college classes by the formation of Fukien University. In 1930 he was

elected Bishop of East Asia, by the Methodist Church. Students loved him: "the right man in the right place," said an editorial in the student paper, "The Fukien Star".

If from the standpoint of today's reader it be objected that now was the time to elect a national, according to the missionaries' principle of "devolution",¹ be it said first that very few colleges including Fukien had any nationals ready, for the college movement was still young; and second, that Gowdy understood this principle rather better than most, as the sequel will show.

It is true that missionaries by and large were slow to apply the principle, as if "they had exhausted their adventuresomeness when they reached China's shores," but the thing had to be a growth. The Chinese mind does not react favorably to formal or mechanical changes. Realistic Chinese associates used often to say: "Give the authority to the best man, regardless; are not all Christians equal?"

There was a temporary misunderstanding over Gowdy's election. In the meeting of September 17 of the Board of Trustees that accepted Jones' resignation, a cable from the Board of Managers was read which said: "Gowdy nominated president. Immediate action desired." It should be observed that by the constitution the Managers nominated the president and the Trustees elected him. The Trustees, accustomed to long deliberation in choosing a president — nearly four years having elapsed in the case of President Jones² — were considerably upset by this summary demand. What could it mean? Though mystified, the Trustees proceeded to elect Dr. Gowdy without dissent. Later, the request for immediate action was made clear. Gowdy had resigned as of September 1 from the acting presidency, having found it impossible to carry on as head of two schools, the Anglo-Chinese College and the University, as he had tried to do all spring. But if he was going to have to resign from the Anglo-Chinese College presidency, the decision had to be made quickly to enable the Methodist mission to appoint a new principal. Another misunderstanding had arisen during Gowdy's acting presidency over a student proposal, headed by C. T. Yang, 1924. later to become president of Fukien (1947 to 1948), and endorsed by

Clarence Neff, who was advisor to students, to form a church "based on love alone" and so open to earnest-minded Confucianists and Buddhists. Actually, only one non-Christian student joined and the other students found themselves not ready for such "religious radicalism", but when Neff next year was offered a temporary post in the Philippine Islands, it seemed wise for him to take it. He returned to Fukien in 1924.

GOWDY'S PRESIDENCY

As in the case of President Jones, President Gowdy, soon after assuming office, found himself faced with two major problems that did not belong to the normal course of things for college presidents in China at that time, though they became chronic later on, a staggering debt and a student uprising almost as staggering. Yet like his predecessor he found unexpected reserves of strength and vision and met both problems successfully.

That cause can neither be stopped nor stayed
That follows a course that God has laid.

Internally there was steady progress, the new teachers had completed language study, the old ones were seasoned warriors, the college was becoming known, the classes were filling up, student activities were thriving, there was a flourishing Y. M. C. A., the combined Glee Club and athletic teams made a trip to South Fukien to perform in the various feeder high schools, there was a student paper in English, the "Fukien Star", which ran at its masthead Sun Yat-sen's will, which was later to be the motto of the Nationalist movement, and published such articles as "The Dynamics of Life", "China's Greatest Invention - The Hoe", "Solidarity versus Ethnocentrism", "A Christian Crusade for Model Villages", "Is the Church Christianity?", etc. Scott invented a very popular orientation course for freshman that ran for ten years. In short, "the Fukien spirit" was taking form.

The debt which the new president faced had been incurred

in the major building part of the college development. Jones frequently planned beyond his resources. The Trustees wanted Gowdy to come home in 1923, but it was felt that he must learn about his school before he could represent it, and he did not go to the United States until the summer of 1924 leaving Roderick Scott as acting president as well as dean. The most immediate need was for faculty residences. In this connection, when in completely good faith, one of them, Dr. W. B. Hill, gave half the money needed, the Trustees made a serious mistake which took a long time for them to live down. Three small houses were quickly erected but the net result was bad. It looked as if large houses were being given to Occidental teachers and small houses to Oriental ones, and this in an era of growing nationalism! Later the Occidentals took the small houses and the large ones were split into apartments for the Orientals. It may be said in justification for this move that early missionary building in China had imitated the large foreign residences of India, built with high ceilings for health reasons and that most Chinese teachers had homes in Foochow city in addition to those on the campus, whereas the missionary had to keep all his possessions in the one house he had.

President Gowdy did generally succeed in meeting the college debt and clearing the way for the completion during his presidency of Fukien's two fine main buildings, the Gardiner Hall Jr. Memorial Dormitory and the Edwin C. Jones Memorial Science Hall, finished in 1924 and 1927 respectively, each with its magnificent "Henry K. Murphy temple roof". Indeed the buildings which were visible for twenty miles were called "the college temples" by the farmers. Gardiner Hall Jr. was the father-in-law of Robert B. Jones, the older brother of President Jones. It was Robert who gave the \$75,000 (later raised to \$78,000) that made the science hall possible; a grant from the China Medical Board, at President Gowdy's request, was made for the necessary equipment.

Later when the dormitory was rebuilt (1929) after being destroyed by fire, it was made into an Arts Hall with offices, recitation rooms, a library and a chapel. In February 1924 Fukien became a member of the Association of Chinese

Christian Union Universities.

In respect to the second crisis President Gowdy had to meet, he was no less successful, though at greater cost to himself. Much has been made of the Chinese word for crisis, "wei chi", as meaning "dangerous opportunity", but the Greek meaning "judgment" better describes Fukien's many crises. To meet a crisis is to be judged and not found wanting, for a crisis results in either creation or condemnation.

What was this new crisis?

In the decade we are describing change was in the air, the forces released by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolution were gathering for explosion. The Student Movement had started, as stated, in 1919; the Communist party in 1921, albeit very obscurely; labor troubles were manifest in 1924; Sun died in 1925.

What happened politically was the second or Nationalist Revolution embodied in Chiang Kai-shek's victorious northward march of 1926 to 1927 at the end of which he had established himself as president of the Nationalist Government of China.

What happened to excite the students was the incident of May 30, 1925. It was Saturday afternoon and the students of Shanghai were staging a parade protesting against the recent killing of a Chinese factory operative by a Japanese guard. The students attempted to enter the International Settlement without having gone through the formality of obtaining permission to parade there. The police stopped them, and a British police officer, mistakenly thinking that they were going to rush the police station and seize the firearms stored there, ordered his men to open fire. Four students were killed and others died later from their wounds.

These two occurrences involving foreigners, and resulting in the killing of Chinese on Chinese soil, enraged the students. They were openly anti-foreign; witness the "Take Back Our Culture" societies and use of the obscure epithet "running dog" for any fellow citizen who took a foreigner's part. In this period nationalist societies, slogans and magazines rose, mushroomed and died in bewildering variety. Foreigners soon learned to pay them no attention.

When news of the May 30 incident hit Foochow every school proposed to strike. A Fukien sophomore majoring in political science hastily threw together a Foochow Christian Student Union and got things under control by showing the students that if they went out on strike, they wouldn't be students any more. The affair blew over in a week. Scott was acting president at the time, but he had learned his way around since the last outbreak, in 1919.

A PLOT TO SEIZE THE UNIVERSITY

The student crisis in the handling of which President Gowdy rose to such heights was a different thing. This was confined to Fukien University; similar things might have happened elsewhere, but the institution was too busy with its own survival to notice. What occurred was a plot to seize the institution and turn it over to the Chinese Government to be made into a national university, thus "taking back our cultural rights". Christianity was foreign culture now. The leader was a graduate of six years' standing who had been given unusual privileges and was in fact the University's first modern trained teacher of Chinese, who, it had been fondly hoped, would be the first of a new type of scholar. Every survey of mission education had pointed out how badly the national language was taught in these English-speaking colleges. But what this young man, who undoubtedly hoped to become president of the new school, and his "gang" did is of slight importance compared to what the smaller loyal group of students did. The plans, as was learned later, had been made months before and the coup was sprung in the spring of 1927, right in the midst of the efforts of Chiang's new government to consolidate itself in Fukien, when, it might easily have been assumed, it would be too busy to pay attention to a college student fracas and the way of the plotters would be plain sailing. The coup was to be a general strike, for the school without students would ipso facto have to fold up and the Government might take over the buildings for use as barracks if not for a college of its own. Scott, as dean, was swept out of the way in the first skirmish, for the affair was not to

be handled by any ordinary academic or disciplinary methods.

What was significant about the affair and what made it more than one of many student uprisings, was that perhaps for the first time in China's history "democracy" was demonstrated through the power of a minority with a righteous cause.

The campus proved too small a stage for the rivalry displayed by the opposing groups and the battle was soon carried to the city, where it appeared in the newspapers and in placards posted on vacant walls, Chinese style. The hopes of the plotters that the new local government would ignore or help them proved false; any such act as "taking over a mission college" by force was entirely outside Chiang's plans. He wanted changes, but not by such methods. Yet, in true Chinese manner, the ringleader was not punished; he was simply moved out of town and given a minor office in another locality. His followers, the disloyal students, had lost too much "face" to return to classes and many of them also left town and were thereafter lost sight of.

Among the early acts of Chiang Kai-shek's new regime was a stiffening of the regulations already issued by the Ministry of Education of the previous regime. for registering privately established schools and colleges. The new regulations required five things:

1. A Chinese president for the institution.
2. A majority of Chinese on the Board of Managers.
3. Abolition of compulsory religion (class-room, chapel).
4. A formal statement in the college catalogue of educational aim excluding any references to religion.
5. Ultimate registration with the Government Ministry of Education.

Naturally the most important item was the Chinese President. And the loyal students virtually said, "We will stand by Alma Mater if you will give us a national for our president." Here was a high sense of responsibility; any American college

would have been proud to have such students; and they have, as it happens, proved themselves in later years, in high posts in church, school, government and international affairs.

President Gowdy's contribution to the crisis lay in his having foreseen this development, in his having prepared himself to step down, and in having actually long before selected his successor. But the Boards of both Managers and Trustees saw otherwise; the earlier crisis having been passed successfully, why not sit tight and try to weather this storm? The president would not have it so, but still he could not convince his Boards. The faculty, naturally less conservative than the Boards, sided with the students: promises must be kept. In fact Gowdy had tried to resign as early as December 16, 1926. "The law requires a Chinese president," he cabled to New York. On February 1, 1927, he wrote to Dr. W. I. Chamberlain, president of the Board of Trustees complaining of the Managers' recalcitrance. On February 25, he cabled, "If forced to abandon, shall need \$7,500 to evacuate American families; may I use?" In January, shortly after the capture of the city, the greater number of missionary families, exclusive of the men, were shipped off in the U.S. destroyer "Pillsbury", to Baguio, in the Philippines; they returned, however, by fall. Mrs. Gowdy, Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Sites, and Miss Asher alone of the Western women remained on the Fukien campus. The large-scale evacuation shocked the authorities and led them to shorten the usual looting period that has accompanied changes in government in China for centuries.

President Gowdy did succeed in getting the Board of Managers to ask the Trustees for "discretionary powers" (April 1) but they later cabled back, "While granting powers, we concur in Board vote that the time has not come for John Gowdy's resignation."

But there came a day when the pressures from all sides became unbearable and the president acted. He appointed Scott to act in the interval, wrote out a resignation, put it in his pocket, boarded the college launch with the words, "I'll not be back again!" and went before the Board for the last time as president of Fukien University, for this time they did

accept the resignation, appointing in his place not a president but an "Administrative Committee" of five with a Chinese chairman; as it was popular at that time to refer to Chiang Kai-shek as "Chairman of the Government", this decision satisfied the students. Scott's third term as acting president lasted only eighteen hours. Commencement came soon after and the students of the class of 1927 who remained in school, were given their diplomas.

In the course of time, other Western presidents of Chinese colleges followed Dr. Gowdy's lead. His and their faith in China was justified of its works.

FIRST YEARS OF LIN'S PRESIDENCY

President Gowdy was succeeded by an Administrative Committee. The chairman, as stated, was a Chinese, Lin Ching-jun, 1920.

There is a letter in the archives written by President Gowdy under date of June 19, 1923, to Leslie B. Moss, secretary of the Board of Trustees, that contains a single prophetic line: "The name of the young man we want for History and Economics is Mr. Ching-jun Lin."

Lin's field was Political Science and he never taught anything in Fukien but Sun's "Three Principles"³ but his incumbency as President gave the institution twenty years of outstanding educational and Christian leadership. Of him, his friend, Bishop Michael Chang of the Anglican Diocese of Fukien, wrote, years later: "President C. J. Lin was the foremost Chinese Christian educator of his day."⁴

C. J. Lin was born on March 4, 1898, in Hinghwa, Fukien. He went to Guthrie High School (Methodist) in Hinghwa and was in Fukien University from 1916 to 1919; he claims to have been the first student to enroll and he was the first student from that institution to come to the United States for graduate study. He left China in the summer of 1919, having completed his undergraduate course in three and a half years, though he did not get his A. B. degree until 1920 when he also got his A. M. from Oberlin College; he studied in Harvard from 1920 to 1922, in Columbia from 1922 to 1925 and Drew

University from 1925 to 1927. He did a great many other things besides studying while in the U.S.A., including extensive translation. He had also to earn his way. Then when ready to receive his Ph.D., he refused to get it. He did not wish, he said, to separate himself from the common man, by a "tail to his name". It was too easy for Chinese to get Ph.D's in those days, he thought.

Lin returned to China under appointment from Fukien as lecturer in political science and economics; his arrival threw him right into the middle of the student rebellion described above: and he immediately assumed the leadership of the loyal forces. He was well known to the government people, who then as always respected his judgment.

With characteristic thoroughness and dispatch Lin set about complying with the law. Of the five requirements,⁵ the first had now been met, a Chinese president; the second, a majority of nationals on the governing board, was quickly accomplished; the third, to abolish compulsory religion was not so easily done, as it met with opposition from missionaries, but at least chapel had been voluntary for two years already; the last, registration with full university status was to be a matter of years, although the re-organized Board of Managers was registered that summer: but the fourth, the published statement of a secular educational aim must be attended to at once, as earnest of obedience to the regulations that would lead ultimately to full registration. As half the jobs open to students were dependent on a government-stamped diploma and this was dependent on compliance with the law, it can be seen how important registration was. The new president found he had to give almost half his time to it.

When the rules were first promulgated early in 1927, there was natural concern over the fate of the "Christian values". Thus on April 1. President Gowdy cabled New York: "Board of Managers desires discretionary powers register Chinese government." The Trustees replied with approval, "provided Christian values conserved." On June 21. Lin cabled: "Am registering Board of Managers. Christian character guarded."

But how was the Christian character to be guarded when

it came to the fourth rule? How shall one say and not say that he is a Christian?

There were many reasons for this fourth rule. Professor Dewey had visited China after giving in Japan a series of lectures afterwards published in America as "Reconstruction in Philosophy". "Returned students" who had studied under Dewey at Columbia, were coming back in great numbers to announce that America considered education a secular process. More important was the fact that the Japanese, in their Twenty-One Demands had asked for the right to open Buddhist schools in China. Though this demand had been temporarily deferred, the Chinese Government decided to ward off the possible extension of Japanese influence under the guise of religious schools, by decreeing that no schools established for the purpose of propagating religion should be registered.

Lin was thus faced with an apparently insoluble dilemma. On the one hand, the law; and a Christian should obey the law. On the other hand, a Christian college, which had no other reason for existence, whose presidency he had accepted. Furthermore no one in China had been faced with such an issue previously; he had no precedents and no one to advise him.

Lin's first impulse was to resign. China's history offers plenty of precedents for such a way of avoiding embarrassing dilemmas. But to do this would be to deny his Christian sense of responsibility, which, as we shall see, was unusually highly developed. The "social gospel" was throughout C. J. Lin's life the Gospel.

So he entered into the silence and in three days produced a formula which was far more than a formula; it was an ideal, a vision, a watchword. A new catalogue was immediately issued in Chinese⁶ which included this sentence: "Fukien University offers education to the young men of China on a collegiate level in a spirit of love, service and sacrifice."

"There, " "C. J. ", as he was known affectionately by all, said to his faculty, "that isn't religion but I'm sure no one can mistake my trinity — love, service and sacrifice — for any other dogma, doctrine, 'ism', or theory, than Christianity, which alone unites all three ideals! Furthermore, " he

went on, "these will tell people for whom the bare words 'Christian education' mean nothing, what Christianity really means!"

The formula satisfied the authorities and was later copied by three of the other Christian colleges in China.

LIN'S CHARACTERISTICS

The incident displayed two characteristics of our great president's mind that were to stand us in good stead on many an occasion. He was first a genuine Christian; these three ideals were his own, and he lived them. For him Christianity was service; service was love; and both were worth all the sacrifice required. Indeed sacrifice was his favorite theme, when he was asked to preach or to lead a prayer meeting, or a chapel service. Since, according to Confucianism, no one ever gives anything for nothing, it can be seen from this how profound was his commitment. Lin was indeed a good deal like Mahatma Gandhi in his selflessness. Later two of the ideals, "love and service", were inscribed on the college seal on opposite leaves of an open Bible; it did not prove feasible to put in more than the four characters, so "sacrifice" was left out.

Secondly, Lin was a creative thinker. He could always make more out of a law than the lawgiver himself, as in the formula above described. Later he was to transcend embarrassing rules in the same way.

President Lin's first report is dated October 8, 1927. He summarizes the events of the spring term and declares that "the University and all the Christian schools in Foochow are now 'safe for education!'"⁷ There were 109 students, 77% of whom were Christians; there was a Student Union, to replace the Student Republic which went out with the strikers; the religious life was vigorous, voluntary chapel had 80% attendance and never fell below half the student body and there was a new interest in social service. President Lin pays a high tribute to his predecessor: "Dr. Gowdy's faith in the Chinese nation, his love for his fellowmen, and his self-sacrificing spirit have made him a source of inspiration

to us all." He closes with some critical remarks about the position in which the Christian college finds itself in China: "Under outside criticism for religious imperialism and cultural exploitation; under inside criticism for throwing religion away (i.e. through giving up required chapel, etc.); both these are negligible but there is a criticism that is real, namely, the barrier that exists between students and the need of the people. But maybe something constructive will come out of the new regulations to provide a higher religious and more useful life for the youth of China."

He formed now an ideal he was later to realize, to make the college more Christian in spirit and more Chinese in character. In his 1930 report, he wrote: "Christianity must strike its roots deep into the native culture; our institution has as yet failed to meet the tremendous challenge with vision and courage; it is not money we need but moral force."⁸ How deeply he felt about his responsibilities is indicated in the 1931 Report: "The so-called new student class is simply a group of social parasites. We have tried to transplant Western systems and curricula on a wholesale scale without considering the entirely different cultural and economic conditions of Chinese society; education in China is too far divorced from actual life and so has produced serious maladjustment. Service alone will change them; and Christianity alone can bring the service motive. Will Fukien lead the way?"⁹

President Lin's first letter in the archives is dated December 7, 1927, and describes the intricate business of clearing graves. The village headman was promised a certain sum for each excavation that proved to be a genuine grave, that is, with actual bones in it. He was expected simply to remember where the true graves were; but it seems that his memory played him false and so he dug a lot of empty holes; he then devised the trick of dropping fresh bones through the voluminous legs of his pants, and thus claiming to find a real grave; when he was caught at this, he simply bribed the clerk who had been set to check on his "findings". Both men were fined heavily for their misdemeanors and the job was never finished.

OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES

President Lin's first year in office was marked with a calamity greater than any that had yet struck the college. On May 29, 1928, fire was reported in the attic of the Gardner Hall Dormitory at seven o'clock in the evening. The students saved most of their clothes but the building burned down to the foundations. It was suspected that the fire was of incendiary origin, possibly communist-inspired, since several other Christian schools lost buildings at the same time, but in spite of exhaustive inquiry, nothing could be proved. The cable sent to the Trustees on May 29 read: "New dormitory totally destroyed by fire. All lives safe. Expect to complete academic year."

President Lin had not been stopped by men, so he was not more than momentarily dismayed by the calamities of nature. Permission was obtained from the Board of Trustees to set up a campaign in both China and America to rebuild the lost building with such gratifying results that the building, now transformed into an Arts Hall, was rebuilt by spring 1929. Meanwhile two large double residences were converted into dormitories. Many of the alumni gave a month's salary to the campaign. A somewhat amusing incident of this building campaign was the securing of enough money from one of the famous war lords in Fukien to erect an entire building, with the gentleman's "literary name" such as all adult Chinese have, over the main entrance.

Another incident of the year 1928 was a sizable theft from the safe just after student registration. On the assumption that the thief had cached the money, which was in heavy silver dollars, somewhere on the campus, the faculty took turns patrolling the area for several nights, but without result.

With this dormitory campaign taken care of, President Lin threw himself into another campaign, that for registration, as already narrated. But though the enemies of the institution had been routed in the attempt to take over the college, they were still active in Nanking with the Ministry of Education and, as it proved, within the student body. Every effort of friends at court was met with a series of vexatious delays;

documents sent in never seemed right and were ordered done over (running to hundreds of pages); hearings of the case could never be obtained, etc. etc. It was not until early in 1931 that registration was secured. This was only partial, not, however, on account of the false witness of enemies, but because the institution was not able to meet the requirements for full registration. In order to qualify for classification as a Ta Hsüeh or University, an institution had to have three "colleges". Two colleges could easily be obtained by dividing the existing College of Arts and Science, into a College of Arts and a College of Science. But it was difficult to find a suitable third college. The proposal that the courses in education, which had been given for several years, be organized into a College of Education was not approved, on the ground that that was a subject pertaining to the government universities alone. The Ministry of Education would have approved of an agricultural college as the third; but here opposition came from the "Correlated Program", i. e. the united program of all the Christian colleges¹⁰ which held that the united colleges could not sustain more than two agricultural colleges, one located at Canton as part of Lingnan University, and the other connected with the University of Nanking. It was not until 1942, when the institution finally had a college of agriculture, that registration as a university was obtained. In 1931 the official designation was Wen Li Hsüeh Yüan, a College of Arts and Science. Moved by Gowdy's statesmanlike act and Lin's pleas, all plans for registration were endorsed by the members of the Board of Trustees, with the exception of the two men who represented the Protestant Episcopal Church and through it the Anglican Church Missionary Society.¹¹ These gentlemen held that the Christian character of the institution was being jeopardized by registration. Throughout this period the president, the college and the Trustees themselves were upheld by the farseeing leadership of their president, Dr. William I. Chamberlain, foreign secretary of the American Reformed Church Mission. The latter had had just the experience needed for Fukien University's crisis. Born in India in 1864, he had been professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy and then, President

of Arcot Mission College from 1900 to 1905. He served his mission as secretary from 1909 to his death in 1941 and was one of the staunchest friends Fukien ever had.

The students planted in the College to make trouble reached their maximum of disturbance by seizing control of the Student Union in the fall of 1929. They tried to make capital out of the government order for military drill in all schools; how would mission colleges dedicated to the Prince of Peace take that rule? But President Lin applied here his technique of "transcending the rules"; he accepted the order but made the military drill into a form of required athletic exercise, which had long been a feature of the College's life; the military officer assigned by the government just became another faculty man. "It may be possible to make generals of students, but not soldiers," said President Lin. He achieved the same transformation of the so-called Monday morning "Memorial Meeting". This was a simple ceremony required of all government offices, public gatherings and schools, consisting of bowing before the portrait of Dr. Sun and the National flag, singing the National (Party) song, three minutes silent meditation and reciting Sun's farewell "will". Conservative missionaries called the ceremony a form of idolatry; the ordinary schools made it a mechanical thing and soon found it an intolerable bore; Fukien made it an occasion for proclaiming Dr. Sun's ideals and for the study of national and international affairs. "Love of country," said President Lin, "is such a rare thing in our country that we cannot afford to lose this opportunity for inculcating Dr. Sun's ideals of patriotism, clean government and freedom for all oppressed peoples."¹²As a consequence Fukien's "memorial meetings" never lost their zest; Christians used to spend the three minutes silence praying for China; alas she needed prayers badly. Again another order concerned the compulsory teaching of Dr. Sun's political-economic classic, "The Three Principles of Popular Sovereignty". President Lin took this on himself, having studied political science in Harvard and Columbia universities.

But it was evident that the time had come for another major change. The rules for registration did not require

that the dean be a national, but Scott, as Gowdy had done, saw this coming and insisted on resigning in November, 1929. It was evident that he was carrying too great a load anyway. At first this load, which had been for him half-time along with his teaching, was divided into four offices, and Messrs. Theodore Ch'en, Fu Shang-lin, Wang Chih-hsin, and E. M. Stowe were accordingly made deans of studies, student life, admission and personnel, respectively, forming a deans' council with Scott as advisor. When the spring term opened this arrangement was discontinued and Theodore Ch'en was made full dean. He was a graduate of the class of 1922 and had had extensive study abroad in the field of education, including an A. M. from Columbia. Later he was to win his Ph. D. by making an outstanding study of the new techniques for higher education in the United States, and to become a professor of both Education and Asiatic studies (later still head of this department) in the University of Southern California. Meanwhile the old student unions were abolished by the Government and made into Student Self-Governing Societies.

This student flare-up might have been seen as just one more student affair, save that it showed how strong the college was, so that President Lin on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary celebration on January 17, 1931, when he was reviewing his first quadrennium, could speak of "progress": "The years," he wrote, "have been on the whole, happy years. The spirit of the college is the finest we have known. Sacrifices we have had and difficulties, but the college, as a place for training students in character and wisdom and ability to think their way through hard problems has gone on." ¹³

Dean Ch'en reports for the same period: "The Christian schools in China are passing through a very critical period. Society looks on us with critical eyes; the government holds us to the most stringent regulations; radicals attempt to harass us. But the eye of faith sees in the future the valuable contribution which Christian education alone can make to the new China." ¹⁴

In characteristic Chinese fashion — "When drinking water, think of the source," says a popular proverb — that fifteenth

anniversary made much of the "founders", and especially of John Gowdy, Bishop Gowdy as he now was. Dean Ch'en said of him: "He was the first college president in China to be faced with the problem of suddenly turning the administration over to Chinese control. It would be difficult to realize fully the predicament he was in. He had no example to follow. To resign, as he did, contrary to the advice of many, required a foresight and utter unselfishness which could hardly be expected from a human being." ¹⁵

IV

EXPANSION - 1932 to 1937

THE YEAR 1931 marked a turning-point in the career of President Lin of Fukien Christian University; he had beaten his enemies and established his institution. In his anniversary address, referred to in a previous chapter, he had prophesied expansion for the college. College and nation were bound, he felt, to go forward toward that New China, which at that time embodied all his ideals, and he would try to have them go forward together. But it was easier to find "a way out", our slogan in those days, for the college, than for the nation. In the welter of political parties, that made up public life in China in the early '30s, each offering its "way out", it was difficult to steer a straight course. Said President Lin in an address to the students of Fukien in December, 1933: "It is useless to take sides. China must continue in this chaos until the political leaders begin to seek the people's welfare rather than their own." And Dean Ch'en had a practical formula for all student troubles: "Don't disobey any rules; but don't obey any either." After Chiang Kai-shek in 1934 successfully crushed the "Rebellion of the Four Southwest Provinces" (one of which was Fukien), he grew so in strength that from that time on his own party, the Kuo Min Tang, alone counted. Such was his strength indeed that he issued from the kidnapping by the Young Marshal, Chang Hsüeh-liang, in 1936, stronger than ever. Those early years of the '30s were further complicated by the Manchurian "steal" and the attack on Shanghai by the Japanese, because in any dispute between China and Japan, Fukien always got involved and every time Fukien was touched, the students reacted strongly.

Many of the lines of the college's growth now to be described began in the period of turmoil that closed in 1931, but they are best presented here because it was in this half-decade that they came to fruition and were recognized as President Lin's pioneer achievements. Also it was in this period that Fukien Christian University laid the foundations of the future, strong enough to stand the shocks of World War II and later of the Communist take-over. In the War, Fukien was able actually to expand further, even though it had become a refugee college.

To make the college both more Christian in spirit and more Chinese in character, we have said, summarized Ching-jun Lin's educational aims.

MAKING THE COLLEGE MORE CHRISTIAN

President Lin has already been described as a creative thinker. Nowhere was that quality of his more highly displayed than in the way he proceeded to cut through the confusions surrounding the problem of Christian education on a collegiate basis, as seen by Western educators, and to present a truly radical but workable program; workable it proved to be as his colleagues can testify.

Lin had one or two advantages over a Westerner in his approach to college education. He did not begin with the Greek assumptions of Western universities that education is essentially a secular process, based on the notion that man is only a mind and that consequently his character is developed by training his mind through self-expression and self-realization. According to such a view, there is no need of an educated person's being converted, and religion, if permitted at all, is only a decoration in a college, or "an elective in the university of life".

This was, of course, the general view held in China and accounts for the registration regulations, which may be summarily stated as, "No education in the church, no religion in the school".

Dr. Lin had the further advantage of having passed through a deliberate and serious conversion to the Christian way, un-

like most missionaries who had grown up into their beliefs along with the various unexamined prejudices of Western culture. So he began every problem, including that of a Christian University program, with the priority of Christ and proceeded outward from that vital center with an almost Biblical singleness of mind.

Many Asians welcome conversion to Christianity because it allows them to make a clean sweep of their pasts. President Lin, however, preserved a sense for his Confucian heritage. In considering Christian education the great ethical classic, "Ta Hsüeh" (properly translated "Higher Education") was a help and not a hindrance with its theory of the integration of character and politics, as in the famous passage:

It cannot be when the root is neglected that what should spring from it will be well-ordered. The root of the culture of the person is sincere thought. Men's thoughts being made sincere, their hearts are rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons are cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families are regulated. Their families being regulated, their States are rightly governed; their States being rightly governed, the whole Empire is at peace.¹

What is lacking in the "Higher Education", as in other non-Christian ethical systems, is any prescription for action, that is, for energizing the will to obey the commandments of the system. This Christianity provides, as Lin well knew. Lin was old enough to have studied the "Ta Hsüeh" in school; he drew from it a motto for Fukien University, "Chih Yü Chih Shan", to strive for the highest virtue. The "Four Books" of which it was a part were withdrawn from the schools after the Revolution.

Be this as it may, five years before the Oxford Conference on Life and Work in 1937 made a definitive statement of Christianity's relation to education, the Fukien Christian University faculty issued their own statement: "Fukien University emphasizes the centrality of religion in the educational process. The 'idea of a university' requires that things be

thought through to their conclusions and to their roots. Do that and you are brought to religion." ²

The Oxford statement reads: "The Gospel should supply the presupposition of all education by whatsoever agency it is given and create the spiritual atmosphere which should pervade every institution of learning." ³ But let us see how the priority of Christ can be built into a formal philosophy of education:

(1) Are we concerned with the material of college education? In liberal education, the interpretation of all subject-matter, be it science or the humanities, rests ultimately on one's view of truth. Truth is an integrated system of facts and meanings. On what terms is such a conception of truth intelligible? Only on the terms that truth comes from God. Lin, though he had been a student in Columbia University for several years, had never succumbed to the pragmatism of the American universities, according to which truth is not integral, but fragmentary, being dependent on its usefulness, "in the long run and on the whole". "If Jesus is central," he said in effect, "then all truth comes from God (as stated above) and that's where we start in building our curriculum and interpreting our subjects." With the need of maintaining high standards and with liberalism as a method of free inquiry, Lin was in complete accord, as were all the members of the faculty; but not with liberalism as a philosophy that eliminated religion.

(2) Are we concerned with the process that goes on in the minds of our pupils? In liberal education, the pupil is of as much concern as the subject-matter. On what terms is a pupil, a person, truly educable? If Jesus is central, what shall we say of human nature? Is the pupil only a mind or perhaps also a soul, that is, a seeker for objects of loyalty as well as an absorber of information? If so, he needs to be trained to choose his ends as well as to think out his means. But the choosing of loyalties, even loyalty to truth, is a religious process, because it forms the soul; conversion then is a natural part of the highest education, not marginal or elective. But this makes the teacher an evangelist. "What marks the difference between a teacher and a Christian?"

Lin was always asking his colleagues. This is the answer: the Christian teacher realizes that he is teaching souls as well as minds.

His declaration that the Christian teacher is an evangelist is another example of Lin's radical and creative thinking. He moved completely beyond the dualism of evangelism and education, a debate that plagued all discussions in those days. Thus the Hocking Commission (the Laymen's Missionary Inquiry) said: "We believe that the time has come to set the education and other philanthropic aspects of missionary work free from organized responsibility to the work of conscious and direct evangelism."⁴ To Lin they were identical processes because they both dealt in the choice of personal loyalties. The teacher, however, though an evangelist was not a preacher, for he was to do his evangelizing by communicating his own point of view in the classroom and in personal interviews outside the classroom. There would be in Lin's college "no propaganda in the classroom", which was the shibboleth of the anti-Christian movement as well as of many Western critics of the missionary business. President Lin was ahead of his time also in declaring that a teacher should have convictions and should let his students know what they are. It was one of his principles that education produces convictions.

Writing concerning this controversy in 1927, Frank Rawlinson, Editor of the "Chinese Recorder", said: "The conflict in the minds of missionaries as to the relation of education to evangelism is still unsettled. For perhaps the majority of missionaries the propagandic value of evangelism is still uppermost in their minds. But the question will not be settled until the Chinese Christians answer it."⁵ But from Lin's standpoint religion was not something separate from life (or education) to be added after all the rest had been attended to; it was integral to living at all points. Everett Stowe records a student's saying to him, "When do you teach religion?" "All day," was the answer. Secular education was from this point of view a subtraction if not a contradiction. It might be necessary under certain conditions but it was never the whole business.

By the same token Lin did not look on Christianity as an

imported religion which a Chinese must reject in accordance with the Nationalist slogan "use native goods". Rather it was a way of growth into true living for everyone, or as "Re-thinking Missions" put it: "A way for all men, entering without violence the texture of their living and transforming it from within."⁶ The way to be a good Confucianist, said a Chinese, is to be a Christian.

(3) Are we concerned with the treatment of persons in a college? Let one and all, professors, coolies, men or women, students under discipline or involved in the intricacies of our registration or grading system,⁷ be treated as brothers in Christ; see that each gets his rights but meets his rights with his responsibilities, as a member of the campus community.

(4) Are we concerned with extra-curricular activities? These too must be submitted to radical inquiry. At this point, Fukien was fortunate in having on its faculty Everett Stowe, already mentioned, who had made religious education his life work.⁸ As a result of his influence, Lin was able to write in his Report for 1931 to 1932: "We in Fukien Christian University have always expressed a special interest in character building. We have often re-asserted the central aim of Christian higher education to be the cultivation of a high type of personality."⁹

Given this outlook on religion in education and this program, it made little difference that religion courses were not allowed in the curriculum or that chapel could not be required. The college had something better, a religion that could not be escaped and yet one that the authorities could not touch. But Lin and his colleagues would not have approved of required chapel even if it had been allowed. It too would have been a contradiction in terms for religion is a form of loyalty and loyalties can only be freely chosen. This radical thinking about chapel produced the following set of principles:

"(A) Chapel is held at mid-morning for physiological reasons, the need of relaxation and change; (B) Chapel, i. e. social worship, is held for psychological reasons, because social worship brings values not to be had in private worship, among which is the sense of unity in the Christian

life and of equality before God; (C) Chapel is held daily for religious reasons, to keep in touch with God, the powerhouse of our wills, and with Christ, the Elder Brother, in whom we see all men as brothers." A friend of Fukien wrote thus of chapel there:

In this high sanctuary where I wait
Walled round with silence and clean empty air,
Earth's choicest incense floods the altar bare:
Keen scent of freesias, summer's distillate
From far-off meadows drying in the sun,
Windborn reminders of the distant sea,
Moist earthy odors in the mist set free—
The mountain winds are blending these in one.
Silence and fragrance, solitude and space,
Heal the heart's weariness; high priestesses
Beauty and Peace offer their ministries,
Slow twilight comes; beyond the mountain's face
The red sun sinks; the eternal stars are near,
And life's great verities are close and clear.¹⁰

In these free chapels, unlike the required kind, Christianity could be properly preached. Students have often testified that in the Fukien chapel services where one-third of the students and two-thirds the faculty attended regularly, they felt in the presence of Reality. There was also a weekly secular convocation, where attendance was required. This might be a lecture by a professor or by a visitor, or it might be a student meeting. Here the Christian philosophy of the college was explained periodically by the president or dean; religion, if it could not be taught, could be explained in philosophy and even in logic classes, logic being interpreted in Fukien as training in right thinking on all subjects.

EDUCATIONAL AIM

It must be evident how much more profound this analysis of Christian education was than the pale pronouncements of the two investigating commissions, the Burton and Hocking

groups. Fukien was in accord with their general intellectual tone, as well as with the idea of "re-thinking", another slogan popular in China at that time, and also with their non-educational recommendations, such as the need to recognize the danger of foreignness, to hold to the goal of transfer of responsibility to the hands of the nationals (devolution), the importance of high standards, the Christian colleges to form a single enterprise.¹¹

What was objected to was the statement of the educational aim. The Burton Commission said: "As the Christian community developed, the edification of the church and the preparation of preachers and teachers was obviously a process of education that called for a further development of schools. For the permeation of the non-Christianity with Christian ideas, schools, although not the only agency, were yet one of the most effective."¹² In similar strain the Hocking Commission said: "The missionary teachers and executives, partly because of the disappointing number of formal conversions resulting from their efforts, and partly because of a broadening vision, have come to think of the religious purpose of the college largely in terms of the permeation of their students, and through the students, the community, with Christian ideals and principles." Again, the Commission said: "Christians should count among the best results of their endeavor the leavening influence of the spirit of Jesus in the common life of each country."¹³

Fukien did not object to leavening, but rather to the failure to understand the roots of leavening, to quote the "Ta Hsüeh"; "the failure to comprehend that spirit comes from spirit and that ideals are the influence of committed persons." In short, while the reports were highly philosophical they were not philosophical enough.¹⁴

Fukien had to decide on the minimum percentage of Christian teachers and students needed to produce a Christian spirit, as well as on the kinds of ideas and meetings necessary to maintain it. It was a point that the religious educationists seem never to have considered. Fukien settled on 65 per cent faculty and 51 per cent for students. With respect to whether the teachers had to be Christians, Presi-

dent Lin made a pertinent remark: "If Christianity has not made an irresistible appeal to you American teachers with your privileged positions and Ph. D. degrees, how can you expect it to do so to a Chinese undergraduate?"¹⁵

Much was made in those days of the "disembodied Christians", the Chinese Christians who declined to join the church. The term was invented by Kenneth Latourette.¹⁶ This situation should have caused no surprise; the church is a strange object to those outside the Semitic faiths, Judaism-Christianity-Islam; people do not belong to temples. After the favorable impression produced by the Christian church during World War II this group dwindled and the argument that "you can be a good Christian outside a church" is seldom heard.

The reader may wonder why so much has been made of the college's Christian philosophy and program. The purpose has been to make clear what problems were discussed in those days, as well as to show how radical President Lin's thinking was and how seriously he took his job. China needed a new human stuff, and, since China's leaders must come out of the colleges, this could be produced only by the Christian colleges; for there was no chance of anything new being produced in the humanistic atmosphere of the government universities. President Lin summed up his view years later: "If the Chinese Revolution is to succeed, it needs Christianity."¹⁷ "Re-thinking Missions" had said the same thing, but without stating how it was to be brought about, as far as colleges were concerned: "There must be first of all a new kind of person as the unit of society if there is to be a new society."¹⁸

With regard to "Re-thinking Missions", what produced all the confusion was that the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. William Ernest Hocking, had actually a different aim from his colleagues. He did indeed believe in missions for the long future of world culture, but as far as the 1930's were concerned what he hoped to do was to work out some *modus operandi* between Christian and Confucian, Buddhist, Hindu and Mohammedan leaders which should produce a bulwark against the common foe, secularism, and against war. His interests thus led him to stress "a common search for

and exchange of cultural values". Thus: "The road is long, and a new patience is needed; but we can desire no variety of religious experience to perish until it has yielded up to the rest its own ingredient of truth. The Christian will therefore regard himself as a co-worker with the forces within each such religious system which are making for righteousness."¹⁹ Dr. Hocking's error lay in supposing that procedures of this sort could be the root producing a "new human stuff", instead of being one of its many fruits. The "exchange of values" is an arm-chair, seminar, round-table sort of religion.

EXPRESSING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN RURAL SERVICE

This Christian philosophy is not the end of the matter. To President Lin, religion that was not put into action was not religion. So it is not too much to say that the extensive program of rural service which we launched in the 1930's had a truly Christian motivation, though it might seem to many to be mere social service or scientific research. A gain for President Lin, the thing was very simple. "Service is meeting people's needs," he said, "and if we are going to call ourselves Christians, we must set an example by meeting the needs of people around us."

But to meet the needs of the people around the college meant a fundamental change in aim; and it was part of Lin's pioneer instinct that he was willing to take the steps involved. What it amounted to was to change Fukien from being a national to being a provincial college. The Christian colleges usually spoke of themselves as national colleges, meaning that they were training the nation's leaders and discussing national problems. Goucher's directive for founding Fukien University was certainly of that sort; and Jones felt the same way; President Gowdy also. But Lin saw two things they had not seen, first that we could not compete with the other national colleges on account of our isolation and late start, and second that we had a job laid at our doorstep, namely, the province of Fukien. But to turn to Fukien meant to turn rural for the province with all its cultural traditions and its great com-



Ching-jun Lin, President 1927 to 1947



Fukien Christian University campus looks out across the Min River to picturesque mountains in distance.



Fukien Christian University campus on the Min River. The mountain on the left is Kushan.



Men's dormitories, with experimental farms in background.



Experimental farms with faculty residences in background.

mercial enterprises is a farmers' province, including of course, tea. In a period when everybody was talking about patriotism to the nation, Lin proposed a new kind of patriotism, the service of the village masses. "No country can go forward," he said, "if it leaves its farmers behind." Had the Chinese in general listened to this, the Communists would not have had the opening they did have to a discontented rural proletariat.

It is astonishing how long the missionary planners were in seeing their problems in rural terms. This was partly because China was no easy nut to crack. Had not Valignani, the Jesuit visitor to the Indies in the 1570's and 1580's, written to his brethren in Paris, "Rock! rock! when wilt thou open?" and had not Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, said that if the church secured one hundred converts in a hundred years that could be counted success? So China missions began perforce in the cities where students especially welcome new ideas and so missions became essentially urban-minded.

Many missionaries indeed buried themselves in country districts and served the people well, but if they asked for funds for agricultural missions, the city missionaries outvoted them in behalf of their schools. On the other hand, many of the earlier missionaries felt no mandate to change the society where their converts lived; withdrawal rather than identification was the early aim; or if they wanted to change village life it was in terms of Vermont or Ohio villages. But there was a changed missionary outlook in the 1930's and Lin was working with it, though also ahead of it, for he saw that a rural program required a scientific basis, which only a college could supply.

This scientific basis naturally pointed to an agricultural college. But the "Correlated Program" already mentioned, had ruled that the Christian forces could support only the two agricultural colleges already in existence, namely, those of Nanking and Lingnan Universities. In vain did Lin argue that the semi-tropical conditions of Fukien, lying between latitude 24°N. and latitude 28°N., made it different from Canton's region in Southern Kuangtung and Nanking's region

in Northern Kiangsu. In the 1940's the University did get a college of agriculture, but in the 1930's the best that could be done was to set up first a Department of Rural Service and later a College of Rural Reconstruction, approved by the Board of Trustees, May 13, 1936. Awkward as this title was, it found favor with the Government. "Reconstruction" was to become one of the nation's slogans.²⁰

A leaflet on "Rural Service at Fukien", dated 1935, describes the program of the college's first rural service, among three villages an hour's walk from the campus, the center being the village of Niutien. There were the following activities:

- (a) By the people: a grade school, a folk school, social center with clinic; a reading room, school gardens, a young farmers' club, parents' day, children's day, an agricultural fair, free tea for the passing ricksha runner.
- (b) By the students: a rural service club, rural dramatic club, health and clean-up campaigns, science lectures, boys' and girls' clubs, and academic credit for the rural service major.

Here was Point IV in embryo, getting people to help themselves; here also were the beginnings of the college's own mass education. Mass education was a special service project of Chiang Kai-shek's, by which students in schools and colleges were released for longer or shorter periods to go out to the villages to carry on such a program as that outlined above. Another feature of Fukien's rural service was the publication of a pamphlet on "Preparation for War", to which each member of the faculty contributed an article on his specialty and its application to warfare, e.g. the chemistry professor told about gas masks, the economics professor how to conserve food. Even the philosophy professor had a share; he discussed "morale".²¹

Another part of the rural service program was the agricultural experimentation carried on by the College along several practical lines. Claude R. Keillogg from the time he joined the staff of the Zoology Department in 1919, had interested himself in the agricultural problems of the region and had already had considerable success in improvement

of the breed of silkworms, selection of rice, reforestation and so forth. Through him many students had become interested in rural problems. When the Department of Rural Service was organized, Kellogg was placed in charge of its agricultural experimentation, while one of his former students was made director of the rural service center. This young man, second only to President Lin himself, in his Christian dedication and passion for service was Ch'en Hsi-cheng, Francis Ch'en, 1927. After Fukien he won his A. M. and B. D. at Yenching School of Religion; then he got a chance to go to America where in Yale Divinity School he fell under the influence of Professor Jerome Davis, who was of great help to him in getting his Ph. D. in the subject of rural cooperatives. He served Fukien from 1933 to 1936, when he left to head up a cooperative banking movement for the province.

So successful was the rural venture that in 1935 the provincial government turned over to the college its own rural experiment station in Wulitien, a string of ten villages not far away, to be run along the lines the college had already developed. In 1936 came financial aid from the Nationalist government itself in Nanking. The college carried on its agricultural work in close cooperation with government.

Another quotation from the 1935 leaflet will show what an object lesson in practical Christianity the rural service was: "The village of Niutien lies just outside the gates of the great Buddhist monastery at Kushan. The monks own the best fields, but they have no dealings with the people save to collect rents. The people hate them. Thus Buddhism is found wanting. Communism though it pretends to help the poor and oppressed vitiates its appeal by insisting that liberty can come only by violence. Thus Marx is found wanting. But Jesus said, 'Serve the people'."

STRESSING CHINESE CULTURE

Since the Christian colleges of China were modelled on the American small colleges and since part of their popularity came from the desire of students to learn English and so get into the American or British universities for graduate study,

it was natural that they should stress the teaching of English and science and neglect the mother tongue. Many commissions pointed out how badly Chinese was being taught; poor college teachers were employed who produced poor high school teachers who produced poor students and so the vicious circle went round. President Lin, though it might have been assumed that as a "returned student" specializing in political science he would know nothing in a scholarly way of his native language and would care less, nevertheless was a "very capable Chinese scholar"²² and very sensitive on this point of poor Chinese teaching. There could be no national progress save on the foundation of a sound understanding of the nation's past, its language, culture and ideals.²³

Meanwhile an organization had sprung up that exactly fitted President Lin's soaring ambition to have good Chinese in an English-speaking college. This was the Harvard-Yenching Institute, financed from a trust fund set up by the late Charles W. Hall, inventor of the commercial method for extracting aluminum. Hall's will had directed that one-third of his residuary estate should be applied "for the purpose of education in foreign lands, to wit: Japan, Continental Asia, Turkey and the Balkan States in Europe, in such manner and through such agencies as to my Trustees may seem best." Fukien shared in a preliminary distribution of funds made to all the union Christian colleges for men in China, receiving \$50,000 as an initial gift. The covering letter from the trustees of the Hall estate, dated January 30, 1925, stated that the money was given on the condition that "it shall constitute a part of the endowment" and that "no part of it shall be used for the purpose of instruction in theology, though the fact that a part of your work may consist in imparting religious instruction will not constitute a bar to your acceptance and use of the money as above provided." In December 1928 the trustees of the Hall estate made a further gift to Fukien in the form of securities worth about \$50,000 and added that the institution would also be "entitled under certain terms and provisions to a certain portion of income from certain securities and funds lodged by us with Harvard-Yenching Institute." Fukien's share of what came to be

known as the "restricted fund" was \$200,000, the income from which was made available to Fukien each year for purposes approved by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, which had been incorporated "to conduct and provide research, instruction and publication in the culture of China" and elsewhere.

This gift from the Hall estate, while very welcome, caused President Lin some perplexity, and he forthwith went to Peiping to see President Stuart of Yenching University, who had had a great deal to do with the formation of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Lin explained that hitherto the annual appropriation from the Rockefeller Foundation had helped the science departments, while the arts departments had "almost been in a state of starvation". Now he was uncertain whether the Rockefeller appropriation would be renewed, and if the income from the \$200,000 held by the Harvard-Yenching Institute should be tied up with certain specific courses of study in the arts departments, the conditions would be reversed. It would be difficult suddenly to reduce the science work, and it would also take time to find suitable teachers for the new courses in the arts departments. He asked Stuart to use his influence to have the Harvard-Yenching Institute turn over the income "under as liberal terms as possible". Fortunately the appropriation from the Rockefeller Foundation was renewed, though on a gradually diminishing basis, so that the science work did not have to face an immediate crisis. In May 1929 the Harvard-Yenching Institute clarified its intentions by formally stating that the income from the trust fund was "to be used for the purpose of strengthening your instruction in Chinese language, literature and history and purposes which in the judgment of your Board are incidental thereto".

These new funds meant better salaries for better teachers, better books, more equipment, more scholarships and primarily a general move toward the "sinification" of the college. The plan called for sending the best students to Yenching for a master's degree and the best of these to Harvard for a doctor's degree, with the hope that the vicious circle of poor teaching in college resulting in poor teaching in high schools and poorly prepared students applying for admission to col-

lege would soon be broken. In fact in the succeeding years Fukien did supply the high schools with good teachers of Chinese.

The Harvard-Yenching Institute chose as its director, Dr. Serge Elisseeff, who had been instructor in Japanese in the St. Petersburg Imperial University from 1915 to 1920 and professor in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris in 1932. He became professor of Far Eastern Languages at Harvard in 1934. He made several visits to Fukien, the last in 1943 when he reported that standards had fallen materially, but where had they not fallen during this period? The Report of the Institute for 1949 says of the War years: "The Trustees have followed with attention and they praise the courageous struggle of the whole group of Christian colleges in China to keep their work going under the difficulties of war."²⁴

With new money and new interest Fukien soon had several new ventures going, thus described in President Lin's 1932 Report: "In two respects the department of Chinese has been most successful. It has increased its major students to thirteen, where in former years there were very few. It has also succeeded in stimulating greater interest in the study of Chinese culture in the entire student body. It is gratifying that a considerable number of students have deepened their interest to the extent of majoring in this subject. Through the organization and public meetings of the Fukien Culture Society over 80 per cent of the student body joined in six voluntary groups, namely: (1) The History and Geography of Fukien; (2) The Economic Products; (3) The Dialects; (4) The Racial Elements; (5) The Customs and Religious Concepts; and (6) The Folk Lore and Mass Literature. The results of these studies were published in the periodical called 'Fukien Culture' which reached its fourth issue at the end of the last academic year."²⁵

Other special projects which fell within the Harvard-Yenching program were: a Chinese adaptation of the Dewey Decimal Library System made by Y. M. Chin, 1928, college librarian, and the Malcolm F. Farley collection of ancient porcelains and other objets d'art. Malcolm Farley had come to Fukien in 1922 to teach French and English; his interest

in Chinese art he developed entirely from field studies. In these he was assisted by Willard Sutton, the professor of chemistry, who was a graduate of the New York State College of Ceramics at Alfred, N. Y. The Harvard-Yenching Institute assisted Farley in his studies, collections, writings and travels. When completed, the Farley Museum contained a collection of the beginnings of porcelain in China, together with specimens in bronze, lacquer, stone and silk. Most notable were the 200 samples of snuff bottles, and lamps made of bronze, stone, earthenware, pewter and bamboo. Among the lines of research undertaken by Farley were a collection of Fukien boat songs²⁶ and the tracing, by means of shards, of the caravan routes to the Near East. Farley found these shards, in which he was an expert, in a rose bed on the campus of Robert College at Istanbul, in an Egyptian village, as well as in the cities of Basra, Aleppo and Isfahan. These finds were made on a world tour in 1937 and published in two articles which appeared in the magazine "Asia".²⁷ Farley died in 1940 and the Farley collection was entirely lost when the Japanese looted the Fukien campus in 1944.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Fukien was fortunate in receiving a gift of a rare collection of books from a prominent Chinese of nationwide reputation, who had a mountain retreat on Kushan. He was Ch'en Pao-shen who had been Grand Tutor to the last emperor of the Manchu Dynasty, the unfortunate Hsüan T'ung, known among Westerners after his abdication as Henry P'u-i. This gift had come about through President Lin's wife's family, which was related to Yen Fu, China's great translator of the nineteenth century, known chiefly by his renderings of the works of Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill.

A large part of the Ch'en collection was moved to the campus in September 1933. It consisted of 21,814 titles covering a little over 80,000 volumes divided into 2,513 sections, and stored in twenty-seven old artistic bookshelves, furnished by the donor, as well as in ninety boxes with their titles artistically carved on the outside.

President Lin sent to the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard twenty-seven photographic facsimiles of some of the rare books, with this enthusiastic comment: "As you will see from the sample facsimiles, a great number of the books are quite valuable; several are straight hand-copied sets, some are copies directly printed from the T'ang Dynasty editions, and some are from rare Sung and Ming cuts and prints. We have also a few fine works, produced in the early part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, that cannot now be duplicated anywhere in China, for they were prohibited works of the Manchu Regime, and all of them were supposed to have been burned. In practically every book one can find some seals of famous scholars who had once owned it, and there are not a few which bear the handwritings of some of our illustrious scholars and emperors. The entire collection is in the best of condition; all the books are well bound, and broken pages and missing parts of older editions have been properly restored."²⁸

President Lin took this opportunity to make an appeal for a new library building, stating that the general library was housed on the second floor of Arts Hall, occupying all the space available, while the Ch'en collection was in a large attic room of the Science Hall. As this room was not fire-proof, the collection was not accessible to the general student body or to the public. He asked for \$100,000 for a building which would house not only the library but also the existing museum and the collection which Ch'en Pao-shen was prepared to lend to the University for an indefinite period of time. This collection included porcelains, bronzes, jades, paintings and other objects of art from ancient times, through the Shang and Chow Dynasties, to modern times. The appeal was eloquent but the Harvard-Yenching Institute's income had fallen off, so that it was unable to respond favorably. The library at that time had 62,083 titles of which 46,469 were Chinese and 15,614 were English. Of the English titles forty-one per cent were scientific works, twenty per cent were on the social sciences, ten per cent were classified as literature, ten per cent as history and a little over six per cent dealt with religion.

THE 1934 CURRICULUM

The English catalogue for 1934 to 1936, the last one published, shows the Fukien curriculum at its highest level and may well serve as a sample of what the Christian colleges could do for themselves. After 1940 they were no longer free to compose their own curricula. As far as Fukien was concerned, it was lucky that there were on the faculty a quartet of curriculum experts, namely Dean Theodore Ch'en, for education; Frederick P. Beach, for psychology and the legal mind, his father having been a lawyer; Norvil Beeman, professor of chemistry, for science; and Scott, for philosophy and the philosophic mind. President Lin occasionally met with the group. A summary of the departments of Fukien Christian University is subjoined:

DEPARTMENTS:

ARTS

- Chinese Studies
- Economics
- Music
- Art
- History
- Philosophy (including Religion)
- Political Science and Sociology
- Western Languages and Literature:
 - English Composition and Literature
 - French

SCIENCE

- Biology
- Chemistry
- Physics
- Applied Physics
- Mathematics

EDUCATION

Philosophy of Education
Psychology of Education
Educational Administration
Educational Methods

According to law, Religion must be part of the Department of Philosophy; in this period the two subjects together ran to twenty-four courses.

In seeking a third college to qualify as a university according to the Chinese classification, the institution considered establishing a College of Education. This was a natural development, both because the easiest jobs for the graduates of the college to secure were to be found in teaching in the more than thirty Christian high schools in the province and because education was a form of service to the people. Another reason was the presence on the faculty of the talented Theodore Ch'en, professor of education as well as Dean; not to speak of that of W. Y. Ch'en, the professor of psychology, who was a graduate of Syracuse University with graduate study in Europe, England and the United States. He was acting president of Fukien in 1934 to 1935. He left then to head up the Y. M. C. A.'s "Youth and Religion Movement". Later he was made Methodist Bishop of West China.²⁹ Still another reason was that this period of fervent nationalism was "an era of educational consciousness", as the Chinese would say. Any college must respond. As already explained, however, the Ministry of Education ruled that Colleges of Education could be established only in connection with government institutions.

The faculty had many contacts with the government system of education. President Lin was actually chairman of a committee to consider whether Fukien province needed a provincial university. He persuaded them that it did not. There was another private but non-Christian university in Fukien, namely Amoy University, founded by that remarkable rubber tycoon, Tang Kah-kee of Singapore, though he was a Fukien man. Later this institution was taken over by the

Government as the National Amoy University.

CO-EDUCATION

Fukien Christian University grew up in the Chinese Revolution. It could almost be called a product of the Revolution. Revolution implies the destruction of tradition. At no point in the five-front program of his revolution — political, social, economic, literary and religious — was Dr. Sun Yat-sen more successful in destroying the mores than in the change in the status of Chinese women that he brought about; and nowhere has Christian missionary work been more successful than in its program for the uplift of womanhood through the Orient. The movement for the emancipation of women in China had been gathering momentum until it broke out in the 1930's with a nationwide demand for co-education. Mothers must be equal to fathers; wives to husbands. China was too poor to build separate girls' colleges, ran the argument; besides co-education was a visible demonstration of social equality not possible in separate institutions.

Fukien University lived too close to the national currents to ignore the clamor. Indeed the Ministry of Education ruled that all the men's colleges must open their doors to women and a college that would not receive a girl could be sued as breaking the law. As early as 1929 agitation for co-education began in Fukien and the Board of Managers in a formal vote asked the Trustees to consider the addition of girls. The latter vetoed the proposal on the ground of the expense involved, and proposed instead, as the Burton Commission had done, cooperation with the (Methodist) Women's College of South China, called usually by its Chinese name, Hwa Nan, that is "China-south" or South-China. This institution had started a year before Fukien, having developed from a very strong girls' high school and was at this time a flourishing college. A similar type of association with Hwa Nan was urged by the Correlated Program. Meanwhile such was the pressure from the field that the Trustees, while continuing to explore the possibilities of union with Hwa Nan, granted permission to Fukien to have its girls. This was done in

1931 and in the fall term of 1932, the first girls came to Fukien. Co-education at Fukien was instantly successful. The first class came from almost every senior girls' high school in the province and there were transfers from Yenching, Ginling, Nanking, Shanghai and Hwa Nan itself. The first Fukien girl graduate was Wang Yu-tzu, daughter of Professor C.S. Wang, whose history of the Christian Church in China was the definitive work on the subject in the Chinese language. A number of fine Chinese women successively filled the position of Dean of Women for Fukien.

The "Correlated Program for Christian Higher Education in China" was set up in 1928 by the Council of Higher Education of the China Christian Educational Association in response to the criticism of the Burton Commission, which stressed the deplorable lack of unity and co-ordination among the Christian colleges of China. Four years later (1932) the Hocking Commission made the same criticism. Dr. W.W. Wallace of the National Christian Council had laid the Correlated Program before the Fukien Trustees in 1928 and Earl Cressy, who was secretary for the program, did the same in 1930. To prevent overlapping and to consolidate the various college programs, the Correlated Program advocated various amalgamations, including some form of union between the two colleges in Foochow, Fukien and the Women's College of South China. It was recognized that these two institutions were too isolated to combine with any other colleges; but could they not combine with each other?

Fukien having preached and practiced union from its inception could not but take these recommendations seriously and so there was inaugurated a series of joint conferences between both the faculties and the two sets of Boards that extended over many years. Four types of union were discussed:

1. Consolidation. One institution. Or consolidation of the senior divisions of the two colleges.
2. Federation. Independent colleges with a common senate.
3. Affiliation. Independent units of a single in-

stitution which should be located on the Fukien campus and use the Fukien classrooms, laboratories and library jointly, while keeping separate their dormitories, faculties and disciplinary systems. All under a single administration and teachers not to be duplicated except for large classes. (Each college had about 200 students at this time). Hwa Nan College would build a girls' dormitory adjoining the Fukien Women's building and Fukien would turn its girls' unit over to Hwa Nan to control. Hwa Nan would abandon its buildings in Foochow.

4. Cooperation. A loose term for exchange of teachers, joint student activities, etc.

The third of these types of union, known as "Plan A" was approved by a joint committee of the two Boards of Trustees in 1935, but nothing was done for a year, and on May 19, 1936, the Board of Trustees of the South China Women's College reversed its position and voted against union, adding, "Co-education is premature in China and also in America." They hoped, however, for further "cooperation", which already existed in cordial relations between the two faculties and in the incontrovertible fact that Fukien could furnish husbands of high grade for Hwa Nan girls and Hwa Nan wives of high grade for Fukien men! This kind of union was of frequent occurrence. On October 8, 1936, the Board of Trustees of Fukien "accepted this report with regret and resolved that 'we are released from any obligations incurred in the 1935 agreement'". This referred to the agreement to turn the Fukiengirls over to Hwa Nan, a proposal to which the Fukien girls, when they heard it was pending, seriously objected. The Trustees "hoped for further study".

This passage in the joint history of Fukien and Hwa Nan Colleges was a sad one for C. J. Lin. He gave much time to it and worked especially hard during his years in the United States (1934 to 1935). It proved to be the first defeat of his career, perhaps the only one. For once the "technique of

sacrifice" did not seem to work. Thus to make the union go, he offered to give up his presidency to Hwa Nan's president, to take on the name Hwa Nan (actually a better one), or to give anything else Hwa Nan asked for. To his clear vision the argument was very simple; two weak colleges which might sooner or later perish in the face of government competition, or one strong college, uniting the two weak ones, and so recognized by society as "qualified to serve the people of Fukien". Provided the people were served what else mattered? Must we continue to "cultivate our little patches"? Did either college risk loss of identity, what did that matter, Christians should be willing at any time to "lose self". Nor did success in the past guarantee it in the future (as missionaries are too prone to think), for China was changing and might one day rule against the Christian colleges, especially the weak ones. Indeed neither college at that time was meeting the people's needs; both colleges were too Westernized, their curricula not fitted to uplift the people from their poverty and ignorance. Union would make a much wider appeal in America too. Thus Lin pleaded with all the eloquence at his command in an address before the joint committees in Washington, D. C.³⁰

Actually there was a great deal to be said for Hwa Nan's refusal to amalgamate, in the terms in which they saw themselves: (1) Hwa Nan College represented the cause of the educated woman in China. The Correlated Program would have allowed only one Christian college exclusively for women, namely Ginling College; but it could be cogently argued that two women's colleges were too few. President Lin felt, however, that the cause of woman had been won in China; there was less prejudice in China against women than in America. (2) Hwa Nan represented a single denomination, which could count on getting, through its college, a steady supply of teachers and religious workers for its schools and churches. Hwa Nan feared that union would upset this. President Lin believing in all possible denominational unions, had faith that the right leaders would be forthcoming from them. (3) Hwa Nan had the highest percentage of Christian students (99 per cent) of any college in China and had little reason to think

that Fukien was unlike the other men's colleges in both China and America, that is, already half-secularized, but President Lin was prepared to believe his institution as Christian as theirs. (4) The move would risk experimenting with an established and going concern. President Lin naturally welcomed all such adventures. (5) Hwa Nan would lose its identity in the larger place, since Fukien had by far the larger plant, whatever paper rules were made to preserve it. President Lin had no answer to that save to mention, "the good of the cause".

FACULTY AND STUDENT LIFE

Emerson's description of an institution as the lengthened shadow of a great man might have described Fukien University, but it was by no means a one-man show. President Lin was naturally a man who attracted other men around him, who enjoyed nothing better than to work and create and endure with him. The faculty was indeed a goodly fellowship; old teachers and young students who were now back as "returned students" and colleagues, as well as new personnel.

Among important phases of faculty life and work in the 1930's may be mentioned the start of a biennial faculty magazine, "Hsieh Ta Hsüeh Shu", which employed both Chinese and English. Scott produced two books, both printed in China, "A Logic for Living" and "The Seeker Finds: A Handbook in the Philosophy of Religion" (in English); and a widely circulated review of Lin Yutang's "My Country and My People".³¹ Research was carried on along the following lines: Kellogg, silk-worm selection; Martin, a Physics workshop; Sutton, Fukien clays; T.H.Cheng, Fukien birds, etc. And for the second time a hungry leopard came out of the hills and visited the campus, this time taking one of the prize goats; later to be killed and to leave his handsome pelt in the biological museum.

Student life in the new program was particularly rich even though the campus was out "in the wilderness", far from town. From the nineteen-thirties on, the Chinese Student Christian Associations were running under their own

steam; in Dr. Stowe's religious education program, to which reference has been made, the Fukien Christian students were his force not his field. It became the fashion to hold summer conferences on the campus, Bible classes were popular. Fukien in this period produced a number of "Y" secretaries and a thin stream of men headed for the ministry. Student government also flourished under the guidance of a joint faculty-student "Welfare Committee". Clubs of all kinds flourished, as students had to provide most of their own entertainment. The most notable clubs were the Glee Club and the English Club. The former under the joint directorship of Mrs. Scott, director of music, and Mrs. Beach, achieved another visit to Amoy (1935) singing in Amoy University and various schools. This journey involved a 250 mile trip by coastal steamer, students sleeping on deck to save money. The English Club started an English monthly, "The Fukien Voice". The titles of some of the articles were "The Dawn Is Breaking", "The World's Five Bibles and the Meaning of Life", "The Factor of Uncertainty", "Social Darwinism", and "The Ideal Chinese College Woman".

There were some additions to the plant: the Women's Building, Agriculture Building, a gas plant, a swimming pool, a water system, made by damming a creek far up the valley and running water by gravity through pipes to the houses and buildings. Later a pump was installed to get water from the river in case the natural water system should fail. In 1936 there were seven permanent educational buildings, seventeen permanent residences and several temporary buildings. Public transportation improved; a bus road and a bus system between Foochow and the Anchorage passed the campus and the hydroplanes flying twice weekly between Shanghai and Canton dropped into the Min river a half mile above the campus. These were visible signs that China had become a modern nation.

There were several visits from officials of the "New Life Movement", who complimented the institution on its college spirit. "You seem to know how to produce a New Life Movement", they said, "without any rules." President Lin in an article written in 1937 speaks of the New Life Movement as

a sign of China's "return to faith". Though couched in Confucian terms, e.g. in setting as the four pillars of society, the four Confucian virtues, propriety, sense of duty, probity, and integrity, the movement could just as well have been described as "disguised Christianity". It looked toward a re-birth of the race. Unfortunately it could not be sustained during the stern days of war and has now become simply a beautiful memory. The Movement was often slandered on the ground that it is impossible to legislate a people into goodness, but it was based on sound understanding of the national psychology, being a synthesis of creative opposites, that is, Confucian morality and the Christian religion. Given half a chance, that is, a decade or two, and it would have succeeded.

Other visitors of the period included, among nationals, Chester Miao, of the China Christian Educational Association; T. Z. Koo of the World's Student Christian Federation; Y. T. Wu of the National Student Y. M. C. A.; Fong Foo-sec, retired editor of the Commercial Press; V. T. King, former director of the Bureau of Geological Survey; Miss Tseng Pao-sun, prominent educator; among Westerners, James Thorp of the United States Bureau of Soils; Earl Cressy of the Council of Christian Higher Education; Hubert Clark, Harvard Biologist; George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University; Sherwood Eddy, author and lecturer; Lewis Hodous, one of the founders of Fukien; Luther Weigle, Dean of Yale Divinity School, who came in the interest of Chinese theological seminaries.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP

The Chinese colleges had not been giving sabbatical years, but by 1934 it was seven years since President Lin had been in the United States; he needed some refresher studies, and the University needed new friends. The Board of Trustees granted him a year's leave, 1934 to 1935, and he left Foochow on April 24, 1934. Professor W. Y. Ch'en was made acting president. The first thing Lin did on arriving in America was to secure an interview with a wealthy retired Los Angeles doctor, Dr. Pierce, who was giving away his money to Congregational mission work, to be used in erecting

various buildings as memorials to his wife. The result of the interview was the money to build the Orlinda Childs Pierce Memorial Dormitory for Girls at Fukien University.

Lin met often with the Trustees. Among topics discussed were plans for the giving of degrees by the Board of Managers; and plans for paying the salaries of non-missionary Western members of the staff by funds outside the regular budget; by 1940 the only ones left in this category were Willard Sutton and Eva Asher. Sutton resigned in 1941.

One item in the Trustees' minutes reads curiously now: "President C.J. Lin submitted his resignation as president, stating that he wished to become a plain teacher." Though rejected, the Trustees could there read the calibre of their president; we recall his refusal eight years earlier to receive his Ph.D. In this connection, when Wesleyan University proposed to grant him an honorary degree, he accepted it, feeling that the award would honor his institution rather than himself. President Gowdy had graduated from Wesleyan in 1896 and President Jones in 1904; it was very gracious of Wesleyan to add in 1935 the Chinese educator to the list of distinguished Americans. In the absence at that commencement of President James McConaughey of Wesleyan University, the degree was conferred by George W. Davison, President of the Wesleyan Board of Trustees, with Vice-President Leroy A. Howland assisting. This was the citation:

Ching-jun Lin, scholar, teacher, administrator, learned in the classics of China and experienced in her public affairs, you have come to take back from the Occident that which may prepare you for even greater service as president of Fukien Christian University with which this institution has such close and friendly associations. By the authority of this university to me committed I admit you to the honorary degree of doctor of letters and I give to you all rights and privileges, honors and distinctions which by custom here or elsewhere pertain to that degree; in testimony whereof I present to you now this diploma.

It was a good year for President Lin. With his wife and two children, Jun-ching, the older, a girl, whose names reverse his, and De-cong (Ch'ih-ch'üan) a boy, named for President Gowdy and President Jones,³² he occupied a suite at Hartford Theological Seminary, where he lectured and studied. He spoke all over the country and at least twice over the radio. To quote from one radio address:

The Christian colleges are among the outstanding factors in the Christian movement in China. They have been making a most important contribution to the building of a new nation, far out of proportion to their strength and material resources. . . . They are facing an unprecedented opportunity for service to the Chinese people in their struggle for new life and faith. The Chinese Christian educators go forward with increasing confidence and courage.

V

THE WAR YEARS - 1937 to 1945

K' ANG CHIEN! This abbreviated slogan of the war decade signified, "Resist-Construct".¹ It may suggest to the Western reader that dogged stubbornness which is such an admirable quality of the Chinese, except of course when their stubbornness is arrayed against you!

Now, strange as it may seem, the students of China could both resist and construct simply by staying with their books. And they did stay with them under the most impossible conditions on their refugee campuses. This tenacity of the students had much to do with popular morale. The Chinese populace loved the students, the Japanese army feared them, and their new ideas. Chiang Kai-shek, believing that his nation would have a future, however long the war might last, and would then need leaders, refused to recruit or arm the students though many of them clamored to be drafted, until the last year of the war when 100,000 students and teachers joined the colors. Thus the colleges of China became, like the monasteries of Europe in the Dark Ages, the only repositories of culture during the long war.

The persistence and ultimate survival of the Christian colleges which had of course foreign financial resources not available to the government universities, not to speak of their superior because Christian morale, impressed the whole country.

Because Shaowu, in Northern Fukien, the wartime location of Fukien University, was practically one of the "fronts", Fukien was in a peculiarly good position to capitalize on this popular interest. It may be truly said to have won national recognition at this time. This recognition was the legal

right to call itself a "university" involved in being given full registration in 1942.

Christianity in general prospered during the War; its wideflung charities, known in America simply as "China Relief", wakened the masses together with the intelligentsia to the Church's real meaning in their midst. In the universal need for sacrifice to win the War, the Church pointed the way; it supplied the honest persons who kept at bay the corruption that goes with any long war; it provided China with a new human stuff; it kept up the nation's hope.

THE REFUGEE COLLEGE

Because of the predilection of the enemy's bombers for college campuses, the Government early in 1938 issued general orders for wholesale evacuations of the schools and colleges. But President Lin with his usual foresight had realized long ere this, that in a war with Japan the coastal areas of Fukien would be untenable for a college and the records show that in September 1937, he had already thought of Shaowu as a place of refuge, though there had been a suggestion or two that we make Hongkong a haven. Shaowu was a small walled-town of 10,000 population in the interior of the province and had been a center of American Board Mission work since 1880. The various compounds contained an unusual number of good buildings, mostly residences. As the Communist "Long March" of 1934 to 1935 swung through northern Fukien, the missionaries had been obliged to leave and the buildings had been occupied by Nationalist soldiers ever since. The Communists had never actually set foot in Shaowu. President Lin's proposal was that the American Board rent these buildings to the college for the duration of the war at a nominal sum. The Board readily consented, but a great many things had to be done before the college could take possession.

In the meantime, the on-going work of the institution had to be provided for in the midst of the extraordinary strains of a country at war, and at what was certain to be a turning point in her history. Two unusual features were introduced

with the beginning of the new academic year of 1937 to 1938. For one thing, there was a marked increase in the normal load of semester-hours of study; this was increased from seventeen to twenty hours.

For another thing, there was instituted under government auspices a Citizenship Training Program, utilizing students from Senior Middle Schools and from institutions of higher education as a "Mobile Corps". Responsibility for given villages in the vicinity of the Fukien campus was given; visits were made to these villages by students under faculty supervision, on a definite schedule. The program included features such as these: lectures on the meaning of the war, first-aid, protection of life in event of military or gas attack, learning and singing patriotic songs, and so on. These sessions augmented the three hours daily training which the government required of the heads of wards and precincts.

Administration of the academic program for this year, including these extraordinary features, was shared by Henry Ch'en as Dean of Students, and by Everett M. Stowe as Dean of Studies. These two faculty members had taken on these duties with the departure in early July 1937 of Dean Theodore Ch'en for further graduate study in the United States.

With the approach of the end of the semester, the government announced a large-scale plan for informing the people of the meaning of the war of "Resistance and Reconstruction". Students from Senior Middle Schools and from colleges were to spend three full months in various regions of the province, teaching and training the citizens for more effective resistance.

Students at Fukien Christian University were informed that they were to be ready to initiate this service to the people on January 5, 1938. In light of this, the teaching schedule was further stepped up. No holidays at all were taken; classes were held throughout Christmas Day as well as on all other holidays.

Faculty members did what was possible to prepare students for their three-month duty among the people. A "Handbook" was quickly written, printed, and put into their hands as a resource for their work. Chinese faculty members were

assigned to accompany the student body in a supervisory capacity. One of the two main groups into which the student body was divided went to Shaowu as a center. This was the place which President Lin's foresight had anticipated as probably the best for a refugee campus. That a move soon would be necessitated was made clear in February, when Foochow suffered its first bombing raid by Japanese planes. This followed immediately a bombing of Taihoku in Formosa on February 23 by China-based planes. No bombs were dropped on the Fukien campus in this or subsequent raids, but it became clear, with raids on nearby installations coming with increasing frequency, that academic work would become impossible even if military invasion were not forthcoming from the enemy.

On February 28, 1938, President Lin wrote: "We are going ahead with Shaowu plans; a group has gone up river to look the place over. Our first task is to get the soldiers out. Our next to start large-scale repair." All Lin's influence with the Government was needed to get rid of the soldiers but it was finally accomplished.² Then came repairs. The floors and roofs were sagging. Doors and windows were gone along with all the fittings. Partitions had to be built and bamboo furniture made for every sort of use.

On May 20, 1938, President Lin wrote to John Gowdy: "The Japanese having taken Amoy ten days ago are now at the mouth of the Min River and everyone is moving." Eight days later Fukien University moved. Describing this event in retrospect in 1940 Everett Stowe said: "Almost two years have passed since a flotilla of heavy Diesel launches cast off from the pier of the Foochow campus of Fukien Christian University. Had the cargo been labelled with freight tags they might have read:

CONTENTS: A College

CONSIGNED TO: The Coming Generation

URGENT

Only minimum essentials enjoyed priority rights on that

first shipment. Many things of course had to be left behind. Yet the essentials of a college — teachers, students, basic equipment — were there, and the Fukien Christian University motto — SERVICE, SACRIFICE, LOVE — was neither lost or damaged in shipment." ³

Yet long before they started packing, a number of members of the faculty, including most of the Westerners, said it couldn't be done. "You might move a high school 300 miles up a stream covered with rapids to a remote valley on the border of a province," they said, "but you couldn't move a college. Might not the complete uprooting and the settling in an alien area result in losing the college, that indefinable spirit that comes to be identified with locale, with buildings and surroundings?"

Seeing the event in the perspective of the years, we observe that something new had happened. The roles had been reversed. Formerly the Chinese said things couldn't be done and the Westerners said they could. Now the Chinese were saying things could be done and the Westerners were saying they could not; the scientific mastery of nature and the Western mastery of circumstance — these had become Oriental! The historian wrote to friends under date of November 27, 1940, shortly after his arrival from furlough: "My colleagues bear upon their faces the joy of men who have seen their dreams come true; and it cannot be otherwise with the nation's leaders in Chungking. This is one reason the Chinese cannot be beaten: the pioneer is an unbeatable man. It is I, the newcomer, who have made a list of the hardships of life at Shaowu, e.g. a diet that is meatless, sugarless, saltless, flourless, butterless, milkless and jamless; not my Chinese colleagues, who are too busy overcoming or ignoring the hardships!"

But there was more to the Shaowu life than this. President Lin's uncanny skill at seeing more in regulations or situations than met the eye had triumphed again. In settling in Shaowu, Fukien University had done two very important things, that had much to do with this recognition referred to above. First it opened up a hitherto "unschooled area", a hinterland where there had never been a college. Students

from five provinces met in this pocket valley. The 1942 Dean's Report lists students in the college as follows: Fukien 72%, Kiangsi 10%, Chekiang 7%, Kuangtung 5%, Anhwei 4%, with a few from Kiangsu, Hupeh and Hopei. This will show how well-known nationally the institution had become. Usually a Christian college would not locate far from its feeder Christian high schools: in the Shaowu area such schools were unknown.

Yet a few schools did follow: Foochow College to Shaowu; the Anglo-Chinese College to Yangkow, a day's journey down river; St. Mark's College to Chienyang, a day's bus ride away.

Was the Christianity of Fukien tough enough to stand a large admixture of "aliens"? Lin, as usual, was sure it was, and his confidence was proved in the event; by 1945 there were 600 students but "the same old college" with a staff of sixty.

The other thing the University did simply by being itself was to establish the morale-center for the people of the area. Fukien was China's furthest outpost, only ninety miles from the powerful enemy and when the war began many Chinese assumed that the province would be taken at once; but the interior of Fukien along with the province of Kiangsi, constituted China's breadbasket. The Japanese took Foochow and part of the coast in 1942 but little else and Shaowu area was generally considered so safe that in 1943 deputations from Soochow and Hangchow Colleges asked to join Fukien there. The result was that "Shaowu became one of the most important university centers in China." Air-raid warnings were pretty continuous, but the college students worked their way by digging slit trenches and no one was ever hurt. Though the town sat down in a wide saucer of land and so was subject, both to floods and malaria epidemics, the surrounding hills were beautiful. Not far away were the Wu-i hills, famous for tea since the eighteenth century.

Ordinary life was not too hard, for the Chinese are a tough and much enduring people, but it was difficult to keep school life going. The jerry-built apartments, the crowded quarters — the high school boys slept eight in double-tiered

wooden bunks — the lack of equipment, the dearth of textbooks and foreign paper, the lack of light, the cold — these taxed the "spirit of study" to the utmost. The only auditorium was exposed to all the winds, though it did have a roof. The Christmas Eve concert in 1940 is still remembered; it was a cold rainy night with the singers' candles guttering in the wind, and their breath rising like steam that obscured their faces, and the audience wrapped in blankets and holding "fire-baskets", that is, charcoal braziers, between their legs.

Later the college started with true pioneer spirit to manufacture its own equipment: ink, chalk, blackboards, alcohol, etc. Then it went on to a wide range of research projects, some of which became famous, such as the production of fuel oil for buses from resinous pine roots and stumps, when gasoline could not be had; rice breeding; a new legume for fertilizers; improved cotton, wheat, soy beans, honey-peach trees, nectarines and tung-oil; tree seedlings for reforestation; rabbits for food and fur; chickens and cows, etc.

It should have been stated above that none of the Westerners accompanied the move. Stowe was left in charge of the campus at Foochow with the Scotts, Kellogg, Miss Thomas and Miss Asher to assist him; the four professors managed to carry on their classes in Shaowu for a term by correspondence. Stowe went up to Shaowu in the late fall and was the only Westerner there for that academic year. Merlin Bishop, teacher of applied arts, took over the care of the campus in Foochow with a Chinese staff in 1940, but left after Pearl Harbor. By 1940 the Westerners in general had returned to China and gone on to Shaowu. All in all there were in Shaowu until 1944, thirteen Americans.

THE SHAOWU COMMUNITY

If community is the Christian ideal of social living, Fukien in those years in Shaowu was surely a Christian college. "What is not shared seems scarce mine own," would describe the life there; all things were held in common — almost. Thrown on its own resources with no place to go and

nothing to do, except the job, the Fukien Christian University community turned to find the satisfactions of life in one another. No one could live in a better house than another or have better clothes or eat more food. Of course there was a common danger as well as a common enterprise. The danger became indeed so acute in the summer of 1942 that plans for evacuation were made and a small advance group was sent a few miles down river with several cases of the best books to be a base in case of need; but although the guns could be heard thirty miles away, the crisis blew over. Many, both Chinese and Westerners, look back on the Shaowu experience as the best they ever had, in spite of the hardships. It was truly no "refugee" existence.

The students learned about community-living in a different way; coming from so many provinces, many with no experience either of Christian education or of Western teachers, they could not be knit into a single group like the faculty. What they did was to survey the human resources of the area, under expert guidance from their professors of applied sociology and economics, a most valuable form of education; their motto "to serve and conserve, not simply take". This discovery of the people by the students gains significance when it is realized that China's age-old practice of setting the student in a class apart, while it preserved the culture and the respect for education, was of little help where the development of democracy is concerned; the people had not leaders who understood them. This gave the Communists their chance. Here in Shaowu for the first time a Fukien student expressed his desire to be a farmer like his father. His reasons: "Production of food for the hungry and because I like country-life best."

Solidarity with the nation was preserved through those years by the memorial ceremony and by daily flag raising before breakfast. President Lin was always there. Clubs flourished on the campus. Religion flourished at this time, too; chapel five times a week ran an attendance of 100; the later famous "Bible Study Fellowships" were founded, furnishing information, devotion and fellowship; there were fifteen of these at one time; some retained the names of

their first teachers long after the latter had left. A new venture in religion was the establishment on April 11, 1943, of the "University Church", with 160 charter members, modeled somewhat on Battell Chapel at Yale University, in which students and teachers would together learn by doing, that is, learn how to run a church! Athletics during the period had virtually to be given up; students really were too undernourished to run; not even the mid-morning serving of bean milk (for vitamins) made possible by the International Y.M.C.A. "Student Relief", gave them enough strength.

Music took on a special significance during the Shaowu period. It was one of the many miracles of that strange existence. When the move was made, the only musical instrument to go on the barges was a portable organ. A small collection of music books and material was sent up and the whole music program was put in the hands of two graduate assistants, Li Yi-ying (chemistry) and Miss Lin Ching-hua (English). In 1939 Jen Chi-hui (biology) took complete charge of the music and reorganized the Glee Club. During that year the chapel piano was sent up from the Foochow campus and after Mrs. Scott returned in 1940, four more pianos. These added much to the morale and the music possibilities. The Music Department was given a small building on the edge of the campus for practice rooms.

Since Shaowu was so isolated and boasted no forms of entertainment, the concerts and recitals took on an added interest. Before going to Shaowu it had been prophesied that Western music would not appeal to a community which had heard little of it except in the form of Christian hymns. But the contrary proved to be the case. The townspeople came in such numbers that generally guards had to be arranged for to handle the crowd.

That the spirit of a Christian college could be transplanted became movingly evident on the occasion of the first Christmas celebration on the refugee campus. Here are some features of the 1938 Christmas celebration: a Christmas supper prepared by students and served by them to all the workmen of the campus; a celebration for all members of the citizenship classes being conducted by students for persons

in the community; a visit by students to the town prison with gifts of food and clothing for the occupants of the cold cells; the four chapel services of the week devoted to special Christmas observance in the quiet place of worship dedicated to religious services; the Candle-light Carol Service conducted by Miss Lin Ching-hua, the first time this had happened without assistance of a Western musical director; a faculty dinner and prayer-meeting in the home of President and Mrs. C. J. Lin, with a Christmas theme; the first singing of carols in the pre-dawn of Christmas morning as the students went through the dark streets of a still-sleeping town.

The Candle-light Christmas Carol Service stirred many a student who had not had contact with Christianity before. After the arrival of the two American Board high schools — Foochow College and Wenshan Girls' School — the united chorus, which had been started years before in Foochow by President Jones, was again organized and continued with unabated interest.

Something further should be said of achievements made in this early period by way of research, particularly in agricultural studies. This was an aspect of the life of the institution which defied transportation: the citrus trees and the experimental plots necessarily had to be left to caretaker service on the original campus.

Starting from scratch in Shaowu the first two years saw notable achievements. For Agronomy Professor Lin Cheng-yao had twenty-five acres to work with. In rice breeding several promising lines were developed from a study initiated in 1938, of some 10,000 heads of rice. A new type of rice nursery was developed, one making possible better control of insects. There was research into new sources of fertilizer, since all commercial sources had been closed off. Part of this was the introduction of the legume crotalaria as humus-producing material. Other studies were made on superior strains of wheat and soy-beans.

In Horticulture, Professor Chiang used with great effectiveness some twelve acres of land. A young orchard of honey-peach trees showed astonishing growth. A specially

promising variety of the nectarine was started through grafting. Study in food preservation showed, for the first time, that the lychee fruit could be canned without losing its incomparable flavor.

In the Forestry division, a nursery was started by Yang Shih-fu. In the spring of 1939 some 50,000 seedlings were set out, mostly t'ung oil nuts and pines. In the year following they were found to be 90 per cent alive, due in part to his technique in dipping delicate roots in mud to afford a protective coating between nursery bed and hillside where planted. Some eighty-five acres of hill land were utilized.

There was a center also for Animal Husbandry, and Professor Lin soon had a flourishing colony of rabbits and Leghorn chickens, and started a dairy center with Jersey and Holstein cows which were available from earlier importations by persons related to the mission work in Shaowu.⁵

SPECIAL EVENTS OF THE SHAOWU PERIOD

The most important event of course was obtaining the status of a "University". This was made possible through the recognition of the college of agriculture, as the third college. The agricultural program found the area a rich field for development and was much appreciated. There were farmers' institutes and exhibits and finally the agricultural high school attached to the university was formed. There had long existed the Union High School which specialized in agriculture but it had "refugeed" in the distant town of Chiangle, too far to furnish either students or practice-teaching opportunities.

Mention should be made of the extensive building program carried on beyond the dimensions of the plant taken over from the American Board. This included a class-room building with an upstairs chapel — who would build a chapel on a refugee campus which might any day be wiped out by the enemy's bombs? — an agricultural building, named for the then Governor of Fukien, Chen I, and the John Gowdy Memorial Library. The mission hospital had made a very convenient science hall. There was besides a small hospital

in town belonging to the Dominican Fathers which students were free to use. One building and one residence were lost by fire, not incendiary. Every spring, as had been true in Shaowu for years, there was a plague scare; in 1944 this attained such proportions that there was thought of closing school; of eleven cases among the students seven were saved. The utmost precautions were taken to prevent a spread of the epidemic.

The university had a printing press, purchased from a Chinese in Foochow who was going out of business, and a small electric light plant which furnished light enough for use in the library from seven to ten in the evening. Having this university press the faculty turned to book production. President Lin got out a guide to the "Three Principles of Popular Sovereignty"; Professor Eunice Thomas commenced to edit her series of Freshmen English texts which were immediately in great demand by various colleges. The idea of printing religious literature caught hold. During this period, fourteen members of the faculty, Westerners included, received monetary awards from the Ministry of Education for meritorious service, \$10,000 in Chinese currency being given for every ten years continuous service in one institution.

Mention has been made of Shaowu as a university center. That refers to proposals from Hangchow College, Soochow University and Soochow Law School to join Fukien in some kind of union. In the end only Hangchow did so, the others going further inland. The Hangchow group erected three buildings of its own but used Fukien's classrooms, laboratories, library and chapel. President Lee Baen (Li Pei-en) proved a tower of strength in all union enterprises.

In spite of the general isolation there were in this period a number of important visitors to the Fukien campus. These included the National Minister of Education, Chen Li-fu; ex-president Gowdy who was present at the dedication on January 5, 1940, of the building erected in his honor; Bishop Sargent of the Anglican Church in South China; Dr. Elisseeff for the Harvard-Yenching Institute; and Joseph Needham, eminent Cambridge biochemist, who had come to China on a mission of Scientific and Cultural Cooperation for the Bri-

tish Council on behalf of the British Government.

The curriculum for higher education changed radically in 1940. It was decided that China's need for technicians was so great that she could not afford to let anyone have time for graduate study; hence all must be accomplished on the undergraduate level. To this end minors and electives were abolished and majors stepped up to eighty hours or more; the required basic subjects accounted for another sixty hours. That practically stripped the course of electives. Several consequences of this drastic change may be mentioned: (1) majors were selected as "meal tickets" and quotas had to be set up; (2) the subjects without prospect of meal tickets, like philosophy, fell off; (3) religion, as an elective, attracted only the most earnest since the elective margin was so narrow. Where previously, under government restrictions, religion had been taught through philosophy it was now taught through sociology. When Scott returned to China in 1940 he found his philosophy department wiped off the map, but managed to save the remnants by inculcating philosophy courses under "English" and referring to "English" as "Western Culture". An important change was made in the constitution at this time enabling the Board of Managers to elect the president instead of merely nominating him.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

Fukien Christian University was a quarter of a century old. What was there to show for it? What had been done? The very isolation in Shaowu furnished leisure and detachment to look back and rethink the Fukien program. An elaborate program occupied a day in January 1941 for this celebration. A remark of President Lin's might summarize the ideals of the twenty-five years: "Only Christianity can interpret the Chinese Revolution and keep it true; only Christianity can make it succeed."

What he meant was that there was a revolution running through China and other parts of Asia far deeper than the political one, a revolution of personality and actually of Christian ideals of freedom and integrity and the rights of in-



Some faculty members at Shaowu, 1938



Commencement at Shaowu, 1939



Diesel launches loading for historic move to Shaowu, May, 1938



The new campus at Shaowu, with rice and other crops in foreground.

dividuals. This was cultural; it was the duty and opportunity of liberal colleges to interpret it, criticize it, and carry it on.

Two other elements were features in this backward look: (1) how a Christian college could assist "resistance by reconstruction"; and (2) how Fukien Christian University had stood for union throughout her history, true to her name "Hsieh Ho". There had been union of schools and boards, of nationals and the sexes, of students from China and overseas, of Western and Eastern cultures, of theory and practice, of study and service, of students and people, of college and nation.

An event that took place in 1938 before the Western members of the faculty had left should not be omitted. In February 1938 nine prominent citizens of Foochow addressed an open letter, in English, to the "Missionaries of Foochow", asking them to set the seal of their disapproval on Japan's efforts to destroy the integrity of China as a nation. "We intend to fight", the document went on, "our own battles to the last; we shall not ask other nations to give up their lives to save China; but there are other ways you can help us and if you bring yourselves to use some of these, we shall be grateful."

In 1943 the citizens of Shaowu united to honor the Americans in town with a dinner. Scott, as senior member, made the address for the guests; C.W. Ting, a member of the provincial legislature, graduate of Foochow College and on the Fukien Board of Managers spoke for the citizens and government. At this time, President Lin, and Professor H.C. Lin of the political science department were also members of the legislature. Relations with authority had throughout the institution's history been most cordial.

THE WESTERNERS EVACUATE

All this time the war was moving southward. The American Embassy had repeatedly warned Americans of the danger in which they stood if the Japanese army should cut them off; but as usual in such cases it is the missionary instinct to disregard danger and plan to stick it out. So with

the thirteen Americans in Shaowu. However, when an actual chance to leave on short notice presented itself in the form of a convoy of empty government army trucks going through Shaowu and headed for the Burma Road, it was decided that the time had come to leave. Eventually the group made its way to Kunming, flew "over the Hump", and after a protracted stay in Bombay got back to the United States. The Americans (with one exception) left on June 17, 1944, amidst deep regret on both sides. President Lin immediately cabled New York: "Americans evacuate. Work continues". Ten days earlier he had issued the following "Statement to the American Group". He was doing his best to help them but also to remain true to his trust: "The recent Japanese military movement toward Changsha has again raised the threat to cut through China along the Hankow-Canton Railway. I understand you have received notice from American authority to evacuate from this part of the country. As the responsible administrator of the University I would follow my usual policy of not urging people to go or to stay in times of uncertainty or possible trouble. Whatever you as a group or as individuals decide, I as President would approve and do what I can to facilitate the carrying out of the same. If you decide to stay, your presence in case of possible invasion of Fukien would not embarrass the Chinese as we are all citizens of the United Nations and we would do everything possible to help. While your contribution is of great value to the University or else you would not be here, your departure, in case you decide to go, would not disturb the work of the University so much that it could not go on. Fukien Christian University is not thinking of moving and we intend to go on with our work as long as we are under the Free Government of China."

But there was more bad news to come. On November 11, New York received another cable: "Foochow campus thoroughly looted. Arts Hall burned October 19. Staff (on campus) safe. Shaowu situation normal".

The Japanese army had re-occupied Foochow on October 4, 1944, the same day that the Americans reached the States. The work of the University did go on with omissions and doublings up, but even before V-J Day, it was clear that the

War had lasted too long. The people were exhausted by what they had endured and were discouraged by the prospect of continued civil war. All Chiang's reforms had given way. Confusion reigned and evil forces used the confusion for private ends. President Lin had written to Bishop Gowdy on February 2, 1938: "It is quite clear that no good will come out of this way for Japan or for China."

This mood of national discouragement was reflected by the Fukien University faculty and students; the institution had to pay the price of its identification with national solidarity, which was no longer an asset. Lowered standards, student strikes, faculty jealousy and even plots against the president ensued. General demoralization seems to have characterized most of the year 1945. Yet President Lin never wavered, though now he who had never been ill was frequently sick. On March 21 he cabled: "Request return all missionary teachers. Conditions satisfactory. Are planning quiet celebration thirtieth anniversary." The Japanese did not leave Foochow until May; V-J Day did not come until August 15, but Lin naturally knew the war was all over. The year 1946 would have been the time for the thirtieth anniversary; but Lin expected to be moving down to Foochow then; he actually accomplished the move in December, 1945.

A final item from Shaowu might be recorded: the fact that three students acquired enough of the "American language" to qualify as General Joseph Stilwell's interpreters in Burma, along with the thousand interpreters the Chinese government furnished him to construct his new Chinese army which finally stopped the Japanese steamroller in Kweiyang.

VI

THE POSTWAR COLLEGE - 1945 to 1951

RETURN to Foochow involved many problems. There was some thought of splitting the institution and leaving the agricultural unit in Shaowu where it could have room for indefinite expansion, but once life and trade returned to the port cities, Shaowu became hinterland again. It should be explained that expansion of the agricultural work on the home campus was limited sharply by the nature of the terrain, the northern bank of the Min consisting of a series of narrow V-shaped valleys.

Among the many problems were: What could be salvaged from the Shaowu campus? What must be permanently abandoned? What would be inevitably lost in transport? How long would it take to pack and move? Who was available to manage the rafting? What must be done on the home campus to rebuild and refit? How many students whose homes were in the hinterland would come down to Foochow? How could a campus designed for 200 students be made to accommodate 600?

The device employed for the actual transport down the rapids of the Min is interesting. The University bought logs, then engaged expert rivermen who agreed to take the loaded rafts down the river, they in turn to be paid on arrival by being given the logs to sell as they could. There was considerable risk and a few people lost their lives and property when the rafts upset, but eventually the operation was completed. But the reader must realize that these few words simply cannot convey an idea of the incredible difficulties that had to be overcome. The pioneer spirit alone could have put it through.

On the campus there was the Arts Hall to be rebuilt; it

had been damaged about as badly as in 1928; the Japanese claim was that they did not intend to set it on fire but a torch used to explore the basement had ignited some wooden beams. An auditorium to hold 600 people had to be erected first of all, since meetings of the entire student body were necessary to rebuild the morale. Additional dormitories were also a primary need. All the earlier wooden structures that had lined the eastern side of the athletic fields had been razed. The residences had lost all their window panes and door fastenings. What the Japanese had left behind in the way of movable or removable things, the people of the surrounding villages had taken. This may look like vandalism by folks who were friends and neighbors, but can be explained by the tradition of looting-after-the-enemy-leaves, by the abject poverty of the common people of China, and by the fact that they had no idea the University would ever come back. Among the losses were the 3-inch zinc water-pipes of the water-system; these had been carried away to be cut into nails! The furniture left in the faculty residences was completely gone.

Well, somehow the move was made and the buildings erected, another of President Lin's miracles. One way it was made had been to buy up building supplies a year before they were needed, which of course required foresight. And some of the rafts furnished the lumber needed. Chinese carpenters always saw the boards they intend to use on the spot. The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA) gave a truck; later the college was able to get a jeep also.

The return to Foochow was accomplished by late December, 1945. All fighting of course had ceased by August. On May 1, 1946, Fukien Christian University again opened its doors to students. There had been no classes since November. By some doubling up, the first and second semesters of 1946 were completed by early January, 1947.

But the problems of the return had been, for once, too much for the miracle-working president. The various faculty troubles recorded above meant that he was short-handed in regard to aides; and there were none of the Westerners

around to help. The minutes of the Board of Trustees for May 11, 1945, record the fact that "President Lin is in need of a health furlough." The same date records the organization of the "United Board for Christian Colleges in China", the last of the unions of China colleges that Fukien was to help form and join.

THEODORE CH'EN

Though he had been granted his leave, President Lin felt that he could not go yet; in fact he did not get away until the late summer of 1946. Meanwhile Theodore H. E. Ch'en, then head of the Department of Asiatic Studies at the University of Southern California, had been prevailed on to take a year's leave from his duties in the United States and to become acting president of Fukien Christian University. He assumed office in the second semester of 1946. He was instantly popular. He had made the newer developments in higher education in the United States the subject of his doctor's thesis at the University of Southern California, and it could be safely said that he knew more about higher education than any other man in China. Many of his ideas were applied to the academic rehabilitation of Fukien University, a process which of course had to go on along with physical recovery.

By the fall of 1946 the American Navy was ready to release various ships, or to refit some of its transports for civilian passenger service on the Pacific. The first ship to leave San Francisco with returning missionaries was the "Marine Lynx", a semi-converted transport. Three trips of the "Lynx" were made by early 1947. Thus Fukien's Western faculty were able to come back. Dr. Ch'en had come on the first trip of the "Lynx". Two boards now contributed teachers which had not done so for years. The Church Missionary Society gave the Reverend and Mrs. Thomas R. Wilkinson, he to be the chaplain, she to teach some English; the Reformed Church gave the Reverend and Mrs. Gordon J. Van Wyk to teach history. Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. William W. Overholt came under the Methodist Board to replace the Kelloggs and to teach agronomy and animal husbandry; Mr. and Mrs. Donald

MacInnes came for English; the Scotts and Miss Eunice Thomas, with the addition of Miss Leona Burr made up the American Board representatives; Miss Eva M. Asher continued as treasurer and secretary.

Letters came from various alumni during this winter of return that were very heartening, as these following samples show: Ch'en Sze-ching, 1926, writing from Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S., said, "Fukien has taught me how to live. Material things can be acquired anywhere in this material world, but an attitude to life can only be mastered in the right environment. Fukien provided such an environment for me." Fourteen alumni, meeting in Cecil's Hotel, Singapore, sent the following cable: "By God's grace we all survived the occupation and are now starting our lives anew. We are glad to hear the old college is starting again and we assure our old teachers of our profound respect and gratitude for all you have done for us."

The missionaries, especially those who had gone through the war years alongside their Chinese colleagues, were loved, understood, honored and loaded with work as never before. "You will have to show us once more," the Christian leaders said in effect, "that the Christian life can be lived after a war as well as before and during it; show us again that it is possible to build a community free from suspicion, selfishness, ambition and a narrow outlook."

PRESIDENT LIN'S DEATH

Acting President Ch'en was well established; the Western faculty had joined their national colleagues. Then came the news that President C.J. Lin had died of cancer of the liver in the Presbyterian Hospital in New York city. He had been ill for some time but the end came with great suddenness on January 7, 1947. Almost his last words were concerned with the college he loved. Whether he was too worn out by his struggles in China during the last years or whether the disease had advanced to a state where cure was impossible will never be known. But the important thing, as he would have said if he could have reflected on his own passing, was

the effect of that event upon the college, upon his colleagues in faculty and administration, and on the coolies too, for everyone loved him. "Unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit."¹ The fact to be recorded is that from the moment the news broke on the campus, the faculty became a unit; jealousies and plots were forgotten; the new members were quickly assimilated; and the Fukien spirit carried the institution through a long series of upheavals with hardly a break in the ranks. President C.T. Yang, who succeeded President Ch'en, once described the three stages of missionary work in China, as, the American stage, when the missionaries dominated, the Nationalist stage, when the Chinese held sway, and the Christian stage. This was the Christian stage, complete international and interracial solidarity and understanding. Those who went through the next three years' crises will never forget the experience as long as they live.

Dr. and Mrs. Lin had made their home in New York this time, so as to be near the Trustees and the United Board and had affiliated themselves early with the Riverside Church, which held a memorial service for President Lin, after his death; the Church also built up a memorial fund to rehabilitate the college library and performed many services for the stricken family. Many were the tributes accorded President Lin by colleagues and friends all over the world, the best that of Bishop Michael Chang of the Anglican Church in Foochow: "C. J. Lin was the foremost Chinese Christian educator of his day." Bishop Chang had come on the Board of Managers after the death of Bishop Sargent, mentioned in the last chapter. His family was an old one in Foochow and several brothers had been students at one time or another. His services to the University during these last years of "freedom" and afterward cannot be overpraised.

Another selfless servant of the University in these later years was Bishop Carleton Lacy of Fukien, who was one of the Methodist representatives on the Board. The two Bishops, American and Chinese, worked tirelessly together, to unravel many a knotty problem and iron out many a thorny relationship.

His friends compared C. J. Lin to Sun Yat-sen because he

died without leaving fields or a house, without money in the bank for his family. C.J. Lin had often been criticized for being too idealistic. "But if he had not been, where would we be now?" said President Ch'en, "it takes faith to remove mountains."

Another tribute is the following written by a member of the faculty: "President Lin devoted himself in complete integrity and loyalty to his university, to the cause of democracy in China and in the world, and to his vision of the Christian way. To the endless administrative and educational problems of the university he brought equally endless patience, self-control and courage. To the interpretation of democracy, in convocation gatherings and classrooms, he joined his deep knowledge of the Chinese cultural heritage with long study of the political and social institutions of the West. And for the perplexing riddles of the life of this period of history, he maintained the quiet assurance that came from a profound religious conviction, centered in the personality and teachings of Christ. His death brought to all who had been privileged to be members of the faculty under his leadership a great sense of loss and bereavement. But to all who knew him there was the awareness that in the flesh they had seen 'love, service and sacrifice'."²

STUDENT INTRIGUES

There follows now a record of two and a half years of student crises, the significance of which it is difficult to untangle in view of later events, against the perspective of which all that went before might seem quite inconsequential. All these day-by-day struggles were apparently swallowed up in the greater calamity — the Communist "take-over". But that would be wrong; those daily talks, bargainings, compromises and victories were part of Christian and of higher education, a vast curriculum in human relations. They must be recorded as part of the way the job assigned was done. Who knows when the principles implicit in the decisions made will bear fruit?

Roderick Scott had a larger share in these student affairs

than was normal, "devolution" being a thing of the past; but then the times were not normal. On his arrival in Foochow in late January, 1947, Scott was asked by President Ch'en to become dean of the Arts College and Mrs. Scott to resume the headship of the Department of Music. It was unheard of according to Western theory, for a Westerner to replace a National, but, as already stated, the Chinese used to disregard Western theories whenever it suited them. Dr. L. J. Li was dean of the Agricultural College and Dr. T. H. Cheng dean of the Science College and dean of the University.

The "new" Student Movement about to be described bears little resemblance to the original movement save perhaps in the negative aspect of "celebrating frustration". We have seen how holidays were proclaimed to memorialize "Days of Shame".³ But the days of shame were simply negative in appearance, akin, in Chinese psychology to the so-called "silver rule" of Confucius: "Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you", a type of understatement characteristic of much Oriental literature. Here, however, was frustration that was real, and the strikes against starvation, civil war, political corruption were correspondingly useless.

The Chinese students were the foremost modern critics of their nation's public life, reviving, so to speak, the legendary government censors. The old strikes were both criticism and self-expression; they arrested attention; they changed things without doubt. But now no one listened to their criticisms for the public and the government were as bewildered as they. All had to learn the sad lesson that modern wars settle nothing. Here was V-J Day, yet China was still fighting; the aid of America, the Old Friend, wasn't there; but Russia, the New Friend, had walked off with the great Manchurian industrial machine, from which China had hoped to recoup her staggering economic losses. Here was Chiang Kai-shek, once the people's idol — "We have one enemy, Japan; we have one leader, Chiang", was the war song of the War — now surrounded with old corrupt officials, some dating back before the Revolution.⁴ Here was the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRRA) full of corruption too. Confucian sanctions, as stated, had gone

with the wind, but it was a long time before men realized what had happened to China. A colleague said to President Ch'en soon after his first convocation address to the students: "You'll get into trouble by stating your idealistic standards too plainly; in Chinese society, sincerity alone will not save you or bring success. You have to use political means as well. No one now says what he means and none will believe you if you try to say what you mean. Nobody believes in anything anymore." "Then let us be different," replied President Ch'en, "Christian education is not worth attempting without principles."

In order to make the situation clearer, it may help to summarize an address made by a member of the faculty to a faculty retreat in the fall of 1948. Said he:

Chinese students today are dissatisfied, restless and realistic; politically rather than socially minded, that is, they want to get things rather than to change things; religiously they are materialistic, escapist, or "show-off", or indifferent.

Another description was: "They're hitting out in all directions." As often as not they worked against their own interests. Their commonest criticism was of the poor teachers they were given; yet the constant disturbance of schedules caused by their strikes was the surest way to produce poor teachers.

THE NEW TECHNIQUES

The deans thought they knew their students, hence they were not prepared for the new really Communist techniques of this period which overweighted things on the side of evil without shame. One of these was intimidation of the good students. Physical violence does not come naturally to Chinese students; they rarely even "scrap". But now there was a new kind of student, the "returned G.I.", who, like his American counterpart, got his way paid, but unlike him was not going to work for his education. It was this group that first introduced intimidation. That non-Communist

students employed Communist tactics was part of the confusion of the period. The Christian students were urged to stand up to them, sure that righteousness would prevail; but there was a deeper reason than cowardice for quiescence: that it is the protesters and reformers who become the persecuted when there is a change of ruler. Against this reason the deans could not protest.⁵

Another of the new techniques was the use of the Mass Meeting, with leaders who were experts in mass emotional appeal, who freely employed what they called "the democratic rule", namely, that the minority were not to be heard. It can be seen why the attempt was made to avoid mass meetings as if they were the plague. The Student Government itself might at any mass meeting be swept out of office!

Still another plague-spot was the "wall-board". Unable to afford printed newspapers, the habit grew up in Shaowu of the various clubs posting their club sheets on bulletin boards. Innocent enough where the English or chemistry club might be concerned, the practice became veritably demonic, where the Student Government or, say, the Junior Class, or simply the anonymous critic, became active. The wall-boards represented "freedom of speech and publication", the freedom meaning that there could be no faculty censorship and no canons of propriety or taste need be observed; where language failed, crude cartoons were resorted to. A dean never knew what atrocities the morning light would reveal when he walked down to his office. There was at Fukien one fearless "dean of discipline" who got up before dawn almost daily to tear down the most scurrilous wall-papers.

Where, it may be asked, were the Communists in all this? Was this new set-up all theirs? By no means. It must be remembered that the Fukien students now numbered 600 and many still came from the generally "unschooled" hinterland. Chinese students still wanted an education but now they wanted to get it for nothing. There were students in Communist pay, "the radicals", as they were called, but it was not until the fall of 1948 that the attempt was made, with government help, to list them. There was another group, called, ominously, "professional students". There

was the large crowd of "indifferents", and there were the "good students". The Communist fifth-columns grew bolder by 1948; Fukien's tradition of free speech and democracy gave them a better chance to make trouble than they could get in the government colleges which lived all the time under martial law.

Yet, as with other types of Communist activity, this "infiltration" did not need many persons, but only certain practices to achieve their subversive ends. They would handle the dangerous mass meetings in this way: tire out the good students by trivial matters until they got up and left and then, sure of a majority, pass their strike votes. These Communist students brought into China and made popular also the "philosophy of the lie".⁶ Formerly a Chinese student would not tell a direct lie; but now only the best could be trusted.

Part of the trouble came from the fact that the Government was afraid of the students; and suppression and arrest were daily occurrences. On the other hand a new force for righteousness asserted itself, namely the angry parents, who didn't want their offsprings' education interfered with.

Though the deans started out with a slightly too trusting attitude, they soon recovered themselves. (Scott was associate dean of the university from the fall of 1947 to the spring of 1949). President Ch'en indeed had worked out a system that made for morale as well as for efficiency. One feature was that the President had become the chief negotiator with students, not the dean. The dean prepared the ground by his talks with the Student Government. He reported to the deans' council, which was made up of the four deans, that is, dean of the university and deans of the three colleges. They in turn brought recommendations to the University Council. This was the top administrative body, working with the President and composed of all permanent professors. They settled all problems and the president announced results first to the whole faculty, which did not vote, and then to the student body. With this system, a faculty decision had some hope of holding up against pressure or plots. Another Communist feature was the endless talk required now in all student transactions. Part of the morale-building system was the weekly convo-

cation where the president could make his ideas known to the students; and strenuous efforts were made to observe every year "University Day" (May 25) whatever might be going on. The faculty as individuals were kept going by their own well-attended weekly prayer-meetings. The Memorial Meeting was abolished on April 4, 1947, the period of political tutelage, as it was called, being now officially over.

SPRING 1947

Things were under such control, the spirit was so high, in this second term of President Ch'en's regime, that at first it looked as though there would be no strikes. Thus when the seniors all over China were on strike against the old comprehensive examinations, Fukien students did not strike, but waited patiently until the Government abolished the examinations. This was part of the business of getting an education for nothing. But two days later, May 13, came the rice riots in Foochow. President Ch'en, having like President Lin, many friends in official circles, rushed to the city and obtained a promise of adequate student rice but too late to stop a mass meeting and a vote to parade (forbidden). The Governor was warned and the parade went off without incident; the Governor spoke to the students, made satisfactory promises and the situation quieted down. But rice riots and rice strikes broke out all over the nation.

The situation on the campus seemed safe until the students turned up a new grievance: that the popular President Ch'en would be leaving at the end of the term. In their love for their president, they would strike against all he stood for. It took patience to handle that; but it was so palpably silly that the thing failed. In the middle of the agitation University Day was held, both celebration and holiday; this eased the tension. A big alumni home-coming was staged, which was the beginning of a move to enlist alumni help against the student intrigues. The alumni voted to inaugurate a "C. J. Lin Memorial Chapel Fund".

On June 1 a platoon of soldiers made a surprise raid at 2. A. M. and arrested twelve students, including one girl,

who they said were Communists. Nation-wide Communist riots were threatened for June 2, but did not materialize. By August, all twelve had been released, though not without endless negotiation.

But on June 3 the agitation over President Ch'en's leaving broke out again, this time with a hint of violence in the air. The University Council met at 4:30 P.M. decided that offense was a better defense than passivity and voted to close school as from 5:00 P.M. That is, to close without commencement and without examinations. The government sent soldiers down to protect the good students.

Then arose a new thing, a kind of faculty strike. Knowing that President Ch'en had to go back to his job in the United States, the Board of Managers had been negotiating for some time with President C.T. Yang of the Foochow Union Theological College to become president. Now in Chinese officialdom when the top men change, so do their subordinates. Taking a position resembling this, the faculty threatened to resign unless President Yang were engaged only on an "acting" basis, thus leaving open the possibility of President Ch'en's returning later. The Board on the other hand held that if Yang were not given absolute power he could not hold the students down or the college together in these troubled days. It took ten days to get this settled. Yang consented to the faculty demand and was finally elected acting president on June 19, 1947. A fine spirit ensued on the campus, Yang and his family shortly moving down. As a matter of fact, Dr. Yang was only on leave himself from his own board and institution (the Theological College). It was a complex situation only to be met by the high Christian spirit of all concerned.⁷

The new acting president, Yang Chan-tung had graduated in 1924 and had then gone to Yenching University School of Religion for his M.A. and B.D. degrees; then to America, for further graduate study and a Ph.D. from Drew University. He was a man of great physical and moral strength, with a reputation for independence and daring thought and for never refusing the toughest jobs. The term ended with a farewell party to President and Mrs. Ch'en.

FALL 1947

The fall term started well with a fine University Council meeting on September 18, followed by a faculty conference and retreat. The one break in the line was the positive refusal of the former dean to continue in office; in his case the jealousies that grew out of the tensions of the war psychology had not died down; later the same man withdrew from Fukien and took an important job in the National Capital. There seemed nothing for it but that Scott should be drafted, seventeen years after relinquishing the deanship; but since no foreigner could hold such an office, he was called Associate Dean. He felt that at sixty-two he was a little too old for this job in a young man's college and his diary shows a record of almost weekly illnesses of a minor sort; but of course it was a privilege too. There was little anti-foreign feeling in China at this time; it was rather "distrust of the 'Commies' and disgust at the mistakes and timidities of the Government".

Nothing happened until November when the news that the Communist army was within 160 miles of Nanking threw the whole country into hysteria; the students held a mass meeting and voted a five-day strike, which went off peacefully. But what they were striking about would be hard to say.

But there was no peace in Fukien or in China. On December 27, there was another outbreak, more carefully planned as was soon found out. The students made twelve demands, which included promises of more and cheaper rice, better teachers and lower fees next term. The fees made a first-class bone of contention, because no one knew what money was going to be worth two weeks hence much less two months. The demands were seriously considered and given reasonable answers, but reason had no standing with the radical students; though the faculty never knew whether they wanted to close school to show their power or to keep school open to continue their intrigues. What made students into Communists? Mistaken idealism, the high pay, and a chance at revenge for being disciplined, plus the unrest, and general hopelessness; these would cover the reasons.

A second mass meeting put through a strike vote by a

trick. Various schemes to stop things were tried without success and indifferent groups started going home. Then on January 9, 1948, the attack shifted to "Run out the President". Of course Chinese students all over the country had been attacking their presidents for some time; the students, always dissatisfied, naturally attacked first those they thought responsible. The government university executives were in no better case than the Christian college presidents. The Board of Managers, however, turned the trick on the students by summoning the alumni in defense of President Yang, as "one of theirs". President Yang had been a member of the Board of Managers for many years. When Dr. Francis Ch'en, now of the Farmers' Bank staff, cabled from Shanghai, "We Fukien Christian University men of Shanghai support President Yang,"⁸ the attack lost momentum and the students turned against examinations, this time asking their postponement on the ground that everyone was too excited to study. This was almost normal, so, though the Council wanted to stand firm, the point was yielded, being the only demand of the twelve left, and finals for the fall term were held at the opening of the spring. There was a trick here: because it was thought that students who returned for their late finals could not be dropped for low grades, since they would have registered for the new term before the grades were in.

SPRING 1948

A new officer had now been added, a dean of discipline as he was called, and the first incumbent was a particularly strong Christian man, an alumnus, a recently returned student and popular with students.⁹ Things went well until mid-May. Deans in China have been wary of the month of May since the beginnings of the Student Movement in 1919. In April there was a rather flagrant thieving case, when the over-pampered son of a prominent Christian leader stole a bottle of sulfa tablets from the dispensary with a view to sale in the city. When accused, he denied the charge, but later gave himself away by attacking the assistant dean of discipline

in the dormitory with a knife. Such were the times that had to be lived in and through.

In May it was reported that the students would demand, as in the preceding year, an early closing and no final examinations. This time, the seniors, who really wanted a commencement, outsmarted their fellow-students. They met in a private room; if the mass meeting got a quorum they would attend and try to talk them out of striking; if there was no quorum they would boycott the meeting. There was no quorum and examinations went through together with the first commencement that had been held in three years. Again the College Day celebration was a great success, with open houses, athletic meeting, alumni gatherings, concert, etc. A minor incident took place early in June; one of the professors found himself under persistent wall-board attack, probably because he was a stiff grader. One day he announced that he would teach no more. When the students in his classes saw that they would lose credits if he persisted, they quickly backed down and sent him a handsome apology. There was, however, a four-day strike just before examinations, not over domestic matters but over a student beating in one of the Foochow schools; there were plans for a forbidden parade, but they came to nothing. Then came the worst flood Foochow had experienced for seventy-five years and the students suddenly found they had other things to think about. The Min River frequently backs up on the Foochow plain after the spring rains, but this time the flood was the worst of the kind in the history of the institution. The whole city was under six feet of water and there was much damage, but at least the students were quiet. Scott had planned a visit to alumni in Amoy, but found it impossible to get to the airport on account of the high water.

FALL 1948

The term began in a fight — over the fees again. The "radicals" tried picketing the student registration; they did this under the cloak of Student Government decisions, but actually the mass meeting that made the decision did not

have a quorum — lingering relics of democracy could still be found. The University Council refused to compromise or yield. Of the 500 students about ten a day succeeded in breaking through the picket lines, until the fourth day when eager students crowded into the Arts Hall through the back door and crept up to the Treasurer's office by twos and threes to pay their money. The strike was broken, classes started; but the Student Government resigned; they did not however, forgive; so the faculty settled down to wait for the next move — without a government! But the faculty held a fine retreat and went into their work with new zest. The affair cost Dean Scott six days in hospital to recover. Two three-day rice strikes occurred in October but they were only ripples.

Then on November 22, the "move" came, a demand from the "rejected Student Government" for the resignation of both the dean of discipline and the president. The former because his discipline was "too severe", the latter because he was "too religious". Between the fact that such attacks were popular all over the country and the clever manipulation of the mass meeting and filibuster techniques, the students gathered such power that there seemed no possibility of breaking the strike. Classes were suspended and the University Council together with the president of the Board of Managers, K.P.Lin, 1927, tried to see their way through the fog. The two men under fire insisted on resigning; the University Council refused to let them. It could not be denied that the acting president was not popular; perhaps like many strong men he was too independent; he did not consult sufficiently with his advisors before making decisions and often reversed these afterwards. But he bore the persecution of the wall-boards and the mass meetings like a Christian, never losing his temper before any provocation. Many compared him to Socrates.

A new force came to the aid of the faculty in the person of the recently appointed governor of Fukien, Li Liang-jung. Though he had never had a college education, Governor Li, who later became a Christian, had known so many of the alumni in various capacities that he called himself a Fukien

University alumnus. He came down now to talk personally to the disturbed students. They promised to withdraw their demands. Then a day later in another mass meeting they reversed themselves. "It is impossible that the Board of Managers will close the school," the radicals said. Again the mass meeting had done its evil work. Next day there was an ugly spirit afloat, but K. P. Lin refused to be discouraged. Details cannot be given of charges and counter-charges. Things hung fire for three days longer. To close would have allowed the Board to stand firm but would have multiplied trouble for the future with an unfinished term's work for 500 students on the docket.

Now a new man joined the case. This was S. T. Chang, 1926, private secretary to Governor Li, who had had to go to Amoy. Chang had been an outstanding undergraduate and had a long record as a public servant, besides having run an underground unit during the War. He tried on the students a new kind of appeal, "the old-grad speech", in the best American tradition! With the students attacking their president and he too an alumnus, the faculty would have said this would be the last appeal to succeed. But it did succeed, Chang knew how to handle crowds. Like magic the spirit changed. "Let the three deans form an administrative council and the students would drop all opposition." This was the first time a mass meeting ever reversed itself for the good. The deans had refused a few days previously to have anything to do with the students, but they yielded to the "old grad". Scott as dean of the Arts College was one of the "three wise men", as he called them, for the final settlement came around Christmas time.¹⁰

Things had really changed; the radicals must have been bewildered; what did they know of the mysteries of spiritual influence? That night students were heard in the dormitories singing hymns! It was a good omen of the new resolution with which the college was unconsciously preparing for the great "turn-over" which came the following summer.¹¹

S. T. Chang had done his school work in Talmadge College, the Reformed Church high school in Changchow, near Amoy. Another peace-maker, H. P. Yang, 1927, who had led the

victorious minority in 1927, also came from Talmadge. When Chang was reminded of this, he said, "That's easy to understand; in Talmadge we carry the image of Fukien Christian University always in our hearts." Such was the character of Fukien's most loyal sons and daughters.

After five days to recover, classes were resumed and the new committee started in to govern. The resignations of the two officers had been accepted with regret. "We must not close until the Communists close us," said one of the members of the faculty, voicing the sentiment of all, "the college must go on, as the only light in the darkness, as the only steady craft in the storm; we owe the young people of China a debt and we must pay it; we opened our doors to them and invited them to come in and we must care for them as long as they are ours." The students had to be saved from themselves. Perhaps it would mean something to the nation later on.

Final examinations were held and the term closed without further incident. There was a rumor of attempts to set fire to the various buildings as in 1928 and the faculty patrolled the campus in relays for several nights but nothing happened.

Scott was anxious to be relieved from office; his teaching schedule was very heavy for English was the third largest major in the University. The final solution for administration was the appointment by the Board of Managers of a "Committee of six men to possess presidential powers". This commission consisted of the best men on the faculty, entirely competent to plan for the days of the so-called "liberation"¹² soon to come.

The United Board of China Christian Colleges had taken the same stand as Fukien: "the Christian colleges should be functioning on their own sites when the change (if any) takes place. The faculties should stay where they are and maintain their work."¹³

As the Communist army drove southward and the city of Foochow began to seethe with rumors, the campus of Fukien Christian University became a veritable haven of refuge and the strike fever abated; no one wanted to stop studying; it was said also that the Communists would put any students

found off-campus to hard labor if caught. On May 15, a joint committee of faculty and students laid down the principles of adjustment to the New Order. They were to be: Cooperation, Patience, Endurance, Persistence. "Let us sit them out," they said, or whatever be the Chinese equivalent of that phrase.

Meanwhile Scott had made his long-planned trip to Amoy, renewing acquaintance with some fifty of the alumni in important posts all over the area, visiting schools and making addresses. It was, though he did not know it, to be his last visit. An operation on April 27 revealed a malignant tumor in the neck and the Scotts were ordered home by the mission physicians. Lest they be caught indefinitely by the advancing army they deemed it advisable to leave at once and to fly back to the States. The order to evacuate came through on June 7, and nine days thereafter Dr. and Mrs. Scott flew from the Foochow airport for Hongkong and home.

OTHER EVENTS OF THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The impression might be gained that Fukien University did nothing but agitate, but actually some very good academic and extra-curricular work went on right through the interruptions and out-breaks, especially in English, music, agriculture, the religious life and the new theological plan. In the English department, Eunice Thomas continued her series of locally printed English texts and Roderick Scott issued the sixth edition of his composition manual; this was a scheme for handling the correction of English composition by formula, which had attracted wide notice. Fukien graduates teaching English in high schools all over China had used it with their own modifications.

In the music work, after one or two false starts, it was possible to bring back not only the schedule of performance but almost the old spirit. A friend who attended the all-Christian-school Christmas concert remarked, "Hearing that music, we can again believe."

Agriculture enjoyed a greatly expanded program under the guidance of Dr. Li, dean of the Agricultural College. Li

Lai-yung had graduated in 1930 and had had extensive study ending in a Ph. D. at Penn State. Returning from the United States to assume his work at Fukien, his plans had been upset by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and he had subsequently spent two years, first at Wellington, New Zealand, where he carried on extensive soil research for the New Zealand Socialist government¹⁴ and then in a Japanese concentration camp in Java, his ship having been torpedoed in near-by waters. Finally reunited with his family and settled on the Fukien campus, he turned his attention to the food problems of the area and became in the eyes of many another George Washington Carver, in the ingenuity of his combinations. Under him the Agricultural College employed twenty teachers and assistants and published a quarterly journal with exchanges all over the world. H. P. Yang, 1927, professor of sociology and rural economics, formerly alumni secretary, passed a world-competitive examination and obtained a post with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. He resigned from the faculty and went with his family to live first in Washington and then in Rome.

Other items in the fields of science and agriculture that should be recorded are: (a) in science, the receipt in 1947 of seventeen cases of scientific apparatus from British industrial firms, secured by the China Christian Universities Association of London; (b) in agriculture, the assumption of the expenses of the dean of the college by the International Chemical Industries Ltd. operating throughout the Far East; the receipt of apple seeds from New Zealand and from Italy samples of the new legume which the Italians had found grew quickly and could meet the starvation problems of their weary people; also the coming of the Church of the Brethren cows. The complete gift of cows for missions institutions ran to 800 head. In the Foochow area the Union High School received about twenty head and Fukien University, sixteen. The cows were Holsteins. The problem of proper housing, teaching the "ag" students to milk, procuring food and so forth were easily mastered; but pasturage proved insoluble. All the hillsides were infested with ticks to which, through the centuries, the buffalo cows had become immune. When Fukien had lost half

its herd, the remainder was turned over to the Union High School, which had managed to secure a tick-free pasture.

The "theological plan" was the result of a scheme President C. J. Lin had been working on for years. If people were to be served they must have churches and the churches must have ministers. Two plans had been in use neither of them satisfactory: (a) underpaid, undertrained ministers with the equivalent of a high-school education theologically slanted; (b) well-trained ministers who were graduates of the two graduate seminaries in China, Nanking and Yenching, and who were well paid if engaged at all. Since few churches could pay these men adequately, they tended to drift into teaching. Fukien's graduates who had gone to Yenching, C. T. Yang, Francis Ch'en and David Cheng, had done this. Another difficulty facing the minister on the lower levels was that he was not from a registered school which left him practically with the status of a clerk or a day laborer. The new scheme contemplated a union of Fukien, Hwa Nan and the Theological College, by which students would get a bachelor's degree with "registration", that is, with a government diploma, in four years while majoring in religion, and then a Th. B. by finishing off with a fifth year in theology at the Theological College, working on foundation courses with elementary religious education, etc.; then two years on the Fukien campus; then the fifth year back in Foochow. In 1948 nine pre-theological students from all three denominations registered in the university as juniors; they proved a strong force for good.

Meanwhile the Student Christian Association continued to grow. Though like nearly all the "good students", their members wilted before the mass meeting tactics of the "fifth-columnists", when the change finally came they stood up for their rights more than once. There is a report from the fall term of 1949, of a wall-board attack on the "superstitious Jesus doctrine" of the Christian Association. To attack religion as superstition in the name of science was a device that started with the old Anti-Christian Movement of 1922. It could be used with telling effect among an intelligentsia sensitive about their superstitions. The Christian students

answered the attack with spirit and challenged their enemies to come to a "Christian mass meeting" and have their criticisms properly answered. Under the influence of the "Nine-Men Ministers' Club" evangelism was active both among students and in the surrounding villages.

The "theological plan" owed much to the efforts of the Reverend David Paton, dean of the Theological College, who had come out in 1947 for the Church Missionary Society to work with Bishop Michael Chang.¹⁵ He worked tirelessly, persuading reluctant officers of the churches and ironing out difficulties. Fukien University, as repeatedly stated, lived always close to the Church of Christ;¹⁶ this move cemented its ties even more firmly.

The College Church continued, as well as the fellowships. The Fukien campus became the accepted spot for summer student conferences. A minor item in the religious picture was the rejection by the Faculty Religious Committee of a proposal to help finance the visit to the campus of one of China's most famous revivalists, on the ground that his influence would undermine the strong union church development of the institution. He was welcome to come, for speech was free, but the university could not finance his visit and so indicate its approval without stultifying itself. His program called for the setting up of a separate sect called the "Little Flock".¹⁷

Other events were the two mission centenaries with auxiliary programs held on the Fukien campus, that of the Methodists on November 9, 1947, and that of the North Fukien Synod of the Church of Christ in China on November 15, 1948. The missionaries of the latter, or rather of its American Board contingent, had been the first to arrive in Foochow, in March, 1847, the Methodists coming in November of the same year. With true Oriental politeness the first group let the second group have the first celebration. It was an inspiration to think that these great church bodies had been in Fukien for 100 years and were now completely "national churches".

In 1948 to 1949 negotiations were entered into between the Foochow Union Christian Hospital and the Cheeloo University Medical School for joint use. The Medical School had

left Tsinan when the Communists arrived and were looking for a place to settle down. After a year's happy associations, they returned to Tsinan. It was hoped that their pre-medical students could combine with Fukien's pre-medicals, but, after a sojourn in Hangchow, the former decided to return to Tsinan.

William P. Fenn, representing the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, made two visits to Fukien to re-explore the "co-ordinated plan", that is, union between Fukien University and Hwa Nan College and to discuss the future of Fukien's agricultural college, together with the general future of the Christian colleges in China. There was general agreement that union plans were unrealistic, if the proviso that the two institutions preserve their separate identities must be kept. On the question of the agricultural college, there was a deadlock; the representative of the United Board, holding that a college of agricultural science would involve the university in expenses it could not meet; Fukien holding that its chief fame came from its agricultural service and that another third college (necessary to preserve status as a university) devoted, for example, to Public Affairs, as suggested by Dr. Fenn, even though given a rural emphasis, would be quite unrelated to the university's place in Fukien provincial life.

Other important visitors were Kenneth Ch'en, for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Stanley Dixon for the British Universities Association, Bruce Copeland for the International Missionary Council, Noel Slater and H. A. Wittenbacker, from England, secretaries respectively of the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society. Vaughan Dabney, dean of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary in Boston, Frank Price for the National Christian Council, Stanton Lautenschlager and Sherwood Eddy, on evangelistic tours and Luman Shafer, Milton Stauffer, and Harold Matthews, members of the Fukien Board of Trustees from New York. When the dean of the agricultural college, Dr. Li, met Dr. Slater, he said to him, "I owe my whole life to you." "How is that?" was Slater's reply. "You converted my grandmother to Christianity when you were a missionary in

South Fukien forty years ago," was the answer!

POSTSCRIPT FOR THE END OF THE "FREE ERA"

As the faculty faced the gathering storm — would they come in June, as rumor said, or later? — with high hopes of "riding it out" together, Western and National colleagues alike, the missionaries were much heartened to receive the following missive signed by the five Chinese members of the Committee of Six: ¹⁸

We are living in a great transitional period of human history, of which the present crisis in China is but a part. We believe that like many other crises, it is a mixture of destruction and construction and that the future outcome of it all depends very largely upon the definition of the situation by men as free agents in relevance to God's will. Therefore, we are strongly convinced that the way in which we, the Chinese Christians and missionary friends, respond to the present crisis in China will have a determining effect on the future development of the Chinese Christian Movement. With grave concern, therefore, we want to express our conviction of the place of missionaries in Fukien Christian University at this juncture. Since the very beginning, the missionaries have played a very important role in the campus life, both inside and outside the classroom, especially in respect to the unique personal influence they have exerted upon the Chinese young people. In a time like ours when the currents of conflicting ideologies are brought into direct encounter and many young people are at the crossroads of decision, it is imperative that they should be given a wholesome Christian perspective and be strengthened in their Christian faith through the unselfish example of all

Christian leaders. Your share in meeting this challenge will be one of the strongest testimonies you can give both to the Chinese Christian leaders and to the Chinese youth in general.

Furthermore, from all that we can observe, we are strongly convinced that the door for Christian service and witness in China will not be entirely closed. Paul said, "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to his purpose. (Rom. 8:28). God certainly has his purpose in all human events. Let us, therefore, stay together, pray together, think together and work together. This would mean of course that we shall have to face all difficulties and eventualities. We shall fully understand however if some of you feel you should withdraw because of age or near retirement, or because of poor health of family or children. But — who shall separate us from the love of Christ?

As early as January, 1949, the consensus was that it could not be long until Fukien Province would be taken over by the Communists.¹⁹ The general tendency on the part of the people was just to wait. Many were resigned to whatever might come, feeling that conditions could not be worse than they had been during the long years of postwar inflation and its accompanying misery. Some hoped that conditions might even be better. May 14 to May 20 was a tense period. A number of towns up the Min River, including Nanping, Chienou, Chienyang and Shaowu, were taken. Rumors were rife that Foochow too, would soon fall. It was learned later that the Communists had intended to take the city at this time, but for some reason a delay occurred. Some twenty students had mysteriously left the University in April, fanning out in the outlying districts, to help "ease" the Communists in.

This period of suspense came to an end and the city and

its surroundings again settled down to wait. Suddenly in the late afternoon of August 15, 1949, guns were heard in the distance. In the early morning of the seventeenth, soldiers marched past the campus. Students went out to the highway to greet them and ask them questions. The following day, 100 to 150 soldiers of the "People's Liberation Army" were billeted on the campus. Students invited one of the officers to speak to the groups on the campus, to which he responded by talking for three hours. The soldiers left the next day.

Students, faculty and workmen took occupation calmly. It became the vogue to try to pick up the new terminology as quickly as possible in order to avoid being suspected of not going along with the new order. Everyone anxiously awaited instructions from the new authorities, but they were too busy with their innumerable problems for the first few weeks to make any statements as to currency, exchange, schools and so forth. In fact, it was not till about August 25 that the Provincial Government was formed. Faculty representatives from the University and other schools called on the Commissioner of Education in the early part of September to learn what was expected of them. The Commissioner replied in effect: "You know more about education than we do. Go ahead and run your schools as in the past." After about a month, however, the heads of the colleges, and later the heads of the high schools, were called together and lectured on the policies to be followed, particularly concerning the reorganization of the administration and the curriculum.

The authorities recognized that very few changes could be made in the curriculum during the fall semester. Practically no teacher in Foochow, for instance, was prepared to teach dialectical materialism, though one of the University's professors made the effort, giving the course two evenings a week, with over 200 students attending. More attention was given to reorganizing the administration in such a way that every group on the campus would have a share in it. The faculty was organized into a Faculty Association, the students into a Student Association, the staff and clerks into a Staff-Clerk Association, and the workmen into a Workmen's Association. Each Association elected representatives to

serve on the University Council, the top authoritative body of the University. This consisted of eight faculty representatives, four student representatives, two staff-clerk representatives and one workmen's representative. All this reorganization invited petty politics and jealousies within each group and between the respective groups, as membership on the University Council was a much envied position. Reorganization was completed in the early part of 1950.

In the midst of this new situation, for which there were no precedents, the fall semester got under way the latter part of October 1949 with something over 400 students enrolled. Students in all the schools were wrangling over the amount of rice to be paid for tuition. They had the feeling that under the new regime they should have everything practically free. During the first few days of registration some students would not pay fees, believing that the Government would fight their battles with the schools, but instead the Government replied that the teachers had to have rice and that students should pay what was decided upon by the schools.

The real Communist students on the campus, who had previously made so much trouble, now cooperated with the Government in the effort to maintain law and order, for, as mentioned above, the Government was not ready to tackle the problems of running the schools and wished above all to have comparative quiet on the campus of Fukien Christian University, which would be an example of what a school could be under the new regime. The Government sent representatives from its own student union to guide the University students. But many members of the student body, of the staff and clerk personnel and even of the faculty were so filled with a thirst for power and authority that life on the campus was far from settled and quiet. Some group was accusing some other group or some individual about something most of the time, usually using scurrilous posters on the wall-boards.

The Communist students could not always control the student mass meetings. At one such meeting in October the following resolutions were drawn up and sent to the Government: (1) Religious activities should not be permitted on the

campus. (2) The Administrative Committee should be changed at once. (3) Student representatives should serve on the Administrative Committee. (4) The Government should help find a president. (5) No breakage fee should be charged in laboratory courses.

All groups on the campus were consumed with the idea that the University had unlimited "hidden" treasures in the United States. Except for the faculty members who carried administrative responsibility, no one believed the treasurer was telling the truth in the financial reports made available. A Finance Committee was formed with representatives from the various associations mentioned above to examine the books. A poster appeared on the bulletin board urging this committee to hurry up with its assignment before the treasurer had time to change the entries, but the examination was not made till the following spring, and no member knew enough about accounting systems to make anything out of the books.

The University was at a great disadvantage administratively in that it had no president, but had to be run by successive Administrative Committees, of which no one wished to serve as chairman. After an Administrative Committee expired there was always an interim of some weeks before another one could be formed, during which time there was little over-all administration. The business manager and treasurer had continually to get instructions and authorizations from the Board of Managers, as the buying of rice and the paying of salaries could not stop. Dr. David Cheng served as chairman of two Administrative Committees in 1949 and into the early part of 1950, when Professor T. H. Wang was made chairman under heavy pressure.

By the time the spring semester opened on March 21, 1950, reorganization had been completed. There were more changes in the curriculum than in the previous semester. A number of courses in English and Chinese had to be omitted in order to make way for seventeen hours of political training as follows:

Nurture (or Cultivation) of Youth and Mao Tze-tung's View of Life, three hours
Current Events Study, three hours

History of Social Development, three hours
Problems of the Chinese Revolution, three hours
Political and Economic Science, six hours (year course)

This left only five hours for the old requirements since the maximum hours one could take were twenty-two. In addition to the political training courses in the curriculum, many hours were spent in brainwashing.

Extra-curricular activities went on as usual. The various departmental clubs functioned as in the past. So did the Student Christian Association. College Day was observed on May 25 with a good attendance of alumni and friends from Foochow, along with students, faculty and workmen. Naturally, much emphasis was placed on aligning the institution to the new order. Representatives from each group spoke — alumni, faculty, students, clerks, workmen. The burden of the speeches given by the representatives of the clerks and workmen respectively was that this was the first College Day in which they had ever taken any interest because the school was previously run by "capitalists and imperialists", but since "liberation" it had also become their school, and for the first time they could speak from their hearts.

Religious life on the campus had not been seriously affected up to the fall of 1950 when all of the remaining members of the Western staff left China. Regular chapel and church services continued and the Student Christian Association was stronger than ever. Membership in the latter dropped slightly, but the quality of the program was of a high standard. During Holy Week, 1950, the Student Christian Association arranged for outside speakers every evening. Student attendance at the communion service was thirty-seven as against forty-one the previous year, and at the Easter Service, eighty as against 100 the previous year. Fellowship groups sponsored by the Christian Association continued throughout the year and were well attended. Pro-Communist and Communist students did carry on some propaganda against Christianity, but that only made the Christian students work harder in order to prove that they, as well as the Communists, could stand for a cause.



Theodore Hsi-en Ch'en, Acting President 1946 to 1947

Farewell parties were the order of the day during the last weeks of the spring semester which ended on July 22. The Faculty Association sponsored a farewell meeting for the Western members, in which representatives from more than a dozen organizations participated. Each one spoke expressing appreciation of the service rendered by the Western members. The eight Westerners continued to do their work and to serve on committees without any questions being raised by any group on the campus. Friendly relations were maintained with the students and with Chinese members of the faculty to the end. Because of the keen interest in finances the treasurer was in the most vulnerable spot, but no serious personal accusation was made against her until she had left the campus.

It was the consensus of the missionaries and the Chinese leaders in Foochow by the summer of 1950 that it was to the best interest of the Chinese Christian Church that all Westerners leave as soon as they could conveniently do so. The Reverend and Mrs. Thomas R. Wilkinson and family left on September 15. Miss Eva Asher and Miss Leona Burr left on September 23, and Mr. and Mrs. William Overholt and Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Van Wyk and family on November 23.

Shortly after the last Westerners had left the Fukien campus, all the Christian colleges in China were ordered by the Government to send representatives to a conference in Peking, which was to meet on January 16, 1951, and the avowed purpose of which was "to cut all financial and thought relations with American imperialism". At this conference the Government decided to take over Fukien Christian University and Hwa Nan College and combine them to form the National Foochow University. By February, active steps were being taken to carry out this decision. Thus, after almost exactly thirty-five years of history, Fukien Christian University came to the end of an era of creative service in the field of Christian higher education.

(Listing the Chinese members of the faculty in any form approaching completeness has proved impracticable. References to many of them will be found in the text. Since this volume is designed primarily for reading by Western friends and since the list of Western faculty members is much easier to secure, it is given below).

Asher, Eva Mae	1923-1950 Sec'y to President; Ass't Treas; Treasurer
Beach, Frederick Paul	1920-1937 Education & Psychology
Beach, Ruth W. (Mrs. F.P.)	1928-1933 Assistant in Music
Bedient, Harold Arthur	1920-1924 Chemistry; Treasurer
Bedient, Florence M. (Mrs. H. A.)	1922-1924 Librarian
Beeman, Norvil	1919-1931 Chemistry
Billing, Arthur W.	1927 Acting Treasurer
Blakney, Raymond B.	1920-1927 Math. & Physics
Burr, Leona	1940-1950 English
Campbell, Horace E., M.D.	1927 Acting College Physician
Doolittle, J. W.	1919-1920 Physics
Farley, Malcolm Fisk	1922-1936 English & French
Gebhart, Harry C., M.D.	1922-1925 College Physician
Gossard, Jesse Earl, M.D.	1916-1926 College Physician
Gowdy, John	1923-1927 President; History
Gowdy, Elizabeth T. (Mrs. J.)	1926-1927 English
Heitfeldt, Martin	1939 German
Hodous, Lewis	1916 Comparative Religion
Irish, John Hurlburt	1919 Bible
Jones, Edwin Chester	1916-1923 President; Chemistry
Kellogg, Claude Ruppert	1916-1939 Biology
Knoll, Alva Winfield	1920-1921 Secretary to President
Lacy, Walter N.	1924-1927 Treasurer
Leger, Samuel H.	1940-1944 Sociology
Leger, Mabel (Mrs. S.H.)	1940-1944 English
McClure, Robert W.	1929-1944 Treasurer
McInnes, Donald	1948-1949 English
Martin, Frank C.	1920-1936 Physics

Martin, Ruby (Mrs. F.C.)	1926-1934 Librarian
Metcalf, Franklin P.	1922-1928 Botany
Milch, Eugene, M. D.	1943-1945 College Physician
Miller, John Gaines	1922-1933 Secretary to President
Mills, Clarence B.	1920-1922 Construction Engineer
Miner, Edwin D.	1925-1927 Religion
Neff, Clarence Alvin	1916-1926 Sociology & History
Overholt, William W.	1946-1950 Agronomy
Overholt, Olive (Mrs. W.W.)	1946-1950 English
Pakenham-Walsh, Wm. S.	1916-1919 English Literature
Parker, Charles Kenneth	1920-1922 History & French
Scott, Charles P. G.	1924-1927 History & Int'l. Law
Scott, Roderick	1917-1949 English & Philosophy; Dean of Arts College; Acting President
Scott, Agnes Kelly (Mrs. R.)	1918-1949 Music
Sites, Clement M. L.	1916-1927 Political Science; Social Science; Bible
Storrs, Mary G. (Mrs. C.L.)	1939-1942 English
Stowe, Everett McKinley	1928-1943 Religion & Education
Stowe, Lulu (Mrs. E. M.)	1928-1943 English
Sutton, Willard James	1924-1941 Chemistry
Sutton, Ellen Holmes, M. D.	1926-1936 Zoology; College (Mrs. W. J.) Physician
Thomas, Eunice T.	1936-1949 English
Van Wyk, Gordon James	1946-1950 History
Van Wyk, Bertha V.	1946-1950 Music & English (Mrs. G. J.)
Wiant, Paul P.	1926-1938 Architect; Construct- ion Engineer
Wiersing, Frederick J.	Education
Wilkinson, Thomas R.	1946-1950 Chemistry; Religion; Chaplain
Wilkinson, Frances	1946-1950 English (Mrs. T.R.)

CHAPTER I: STRUGGLE WITH A VISION

1. John Wright Buckham, "The Inner World".
2. The reference is to the "Ta Hsüeh" or "Higher Education" in Lin Yutang's translation, though called "The Great Learning" by James Legge. It dates from between 400 and 300 B.C. The Chinese classics are the only scriptures that contain a treatise on education.
3. Such men as Sun Yat-sen, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others.
4. The over-all figures given for this period are 2,000,000 Christians for both Protestant and Roman Catholic missions.
5. "The union institutions were held in high respect by the Chinese public." C. J. Lin, in an address in U. S. A., 1934.
6. "Re-Thinking Missions", p. 171.
7. Such pairing of related but opposed doublets, being so close to the "yin-yang" or female-male principle of the universe, that is, the conception of creative tension, appeals especially to the Chinese.
8. The New Life Movement was a project for the spiritual recovery of the Chinese people, launched by Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in 1936.
9. See Roderick Scott, "Personalistic Insights in Ancient Chinese Philosophy", p. 30. Unpublished thesis.
10. This was a required course in social welfare for all students above the freshman year. It put students in immediate touch with the local farm and village life around them.
11. The reference is to Kenneth S. Latourette's monumental work on the "History of Protestant Missions", Vol. VII, "Advance through Storm".
12. World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910. Report.
13. Printed Minutes of the Preliminary Committee on Christian Higher Education in Fukien Province, 1911.
14. The University of Chicago is not, of course, a state university.
15. Cf. "Christian Education in China", 1922, the report of the Burton Commission, p. 131. "FUKIEN. — It is recommended: (a) That inasmuch as for geographical and

- other natural causes it is impracticable at present to include this province either in the South or East China areas, Fukien Province betreated as a higher educational area."
16. Reverend Edward H. Smith, missionary of the American Board in Foochow, 1896 to 1942.
 17. Letter of Lewis Hodous, May 9, 1913.
 18. Letter of February 15, 1912.

CHAPTER II: MAKING A COLLEGE

1. Letter from Lewis Hodous to James L. Barton, general secretary of the American Board.
2. "Fukien Star", Vol. 3. No. 2, November 1924. "Jones' Memorial Number". pp. 2, 3.
3. See Chapter I.
4. The reference is to Rudyard Kipling's story, "Letting in the Jungle".
5. Willard L. Beard was an honored member of the American Board Mission in Foochow, long president of Foochow College, also president of the Fukien Board of Managers.
6. The village of Kueichi was a Customs stop for all launches going up or down the Min River, so the name was well known, out of proportion to the size of the village. The whole district, the University included, went by the name Kueichi.
7. These were the members of the faculty selected by President Jones: Dr. and Mrs. Norvil Beeman (Chemistry); Dr. and Mrs. Harold Bedient (Chemistry); Dr. and Mrs. Raymond B. Blakney (Mathematics); Mr. and Mrs. James Doolittle (Physics); Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Mills (Builder); Mr. Charles K. Parker (French and English); Dr. and Mrs. Willard J. Sutton, (Chemistry, after Bedient). About the same time the following persons joined the faculty: Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Miner (Religion), from the Reformed Mission, and Mr. and Mrs. Frank C. Martin (Physics, after Doolittle), from the Church Missionary Society.
8. "Christian Education in China", pp. 131, 132.
9. The ideograph for "Hsieh" is made up of "ten" (which happens to be in the shape of a cross), and "strength"

written three times. The ideograph "Ho" means "harmony". The combination "Hsieh Ho" means "union".

10. Detachment and Solidarity make a "productive tension", an application of the "yin-yang" principle. See Chapter I.
11. See Chapter V.
12. Beeman's and Scott's Chinese first-names adorn two men's dormitories.

CHAPTER III: PROGRESS

1. See Chapter I.
2. Jones was nominated by the Board of Managers in 1915; the Board of Trustees, which came into existence in 1918, formally elected him president in 1919.
3. The full title is "The Three Principles of Popular Sovereignty". The book was used as the political "bible" of the Nationalists.
4. The C. J. Lin Obituary, 1947.
5. See page 37.
6. Previous catalogues had always been printed in English.
7. President's Report, 1927.
8. President's Report, 1929-1930.
9. President's Report, 1930-1931.
10. For further details on the Correlated Program see p.59.
11. For the relation of the American Episcopal Church to Fukien University, see p.14.
12. President's Report, 1929-1930.
13. "Fukien Christian University, 1916-1931 Anniversary" p.4.
14. Report, 1931-1932, p.11.
15. "The Fifteenth Anniversary of Fukien Christian University", p.5.

CHAPTER IV: EXPANSION

1. "The Higher Education", 7,5,6. The "Four Books" consist of "The Analects of Confucius", "The Higher Education", "The Central Harmony", (usually called "The Doctrine of the Mean"), and "The Mencius".
2. Note allusion to "root" as in "The Higher Education". See

- statement on "Education as Character Development", in General Catalogue, English Edition, 1934-1936.
3. "The Oxford Conference", p. 149.
 4. "Re-Thinking Missions", p. 326.
 5. Frank Rawlinson, "Changes in Missionary Thought and Effort in Two Decades", Peking Leader Reprints, No.27 1927, p. 14.
 6. "Re-Thinking Missions", p. 325.
 7. Scott while dean had invented a simple gradingsystem; the grade of 1 was given for original work, 2 for sound work, 3 for average work, 4 for passing, 5 for failure. But the Chinese Government later required the use of the per-cent system.
 8. Stowe got his A.B. from Ohio University, his S. T. B. from Boston University School of Theology, his A. M. and Ed. D. from Columbia. The Hocking Commission said he knew more about religious education than any other missionary teacher in China.
 9. President's Report, 1931-1932.
 10. Kate Bailey Hinman, "Village Verse", p. 28.
 11. "Re-Thinking Missions", pp. 177, 179, 165, 328.
 12. "Christian Education in China", p. 34.
 13. "Re-Thinking Missions", pp. 164, 327.
 14. Three of China's "philosophical missionaries", Frank Rawlinson, D. Willard Lyon and Roderick Scott, tried to correct the philosophy of the Hocking Commission, but without avail.
 15. Roderick Scott, "The Christian Colleges of China Aska Question", "Christian Education", January, 1932, p. 229.
 16. "International Review of Missions", July, 1936, p. 298.
 17. "Twenty-Five Years in Fukien", p. 2.
 18. "Re-Thinking Missions", p. 326.
 19. Ibid. p. 327. Dr. Hocking worked out his ideas in the volume, "Living Religions and the New World Faith".
 20. The reader will notice the recurring mention of slogans; their employment shows that China's leaders understood the psychology of their own people.
 21. This study of morale was based on Hocking's "Morale and Its Enemies". The study was translated.

22. Dr. T. H. Cheng in the C. J. Lin Obituary, 1947.
23. See Chapter I, note 9. This was the theme of Dr. Scott's thesis.
24. "The Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Christian Colleges of China", Cambridge, 1949, p. 4.
25. President's Report, 1931-1932, p. 4.
26. "Min River Boat Songs", New York, 1946.
27. "Asia", November, 1939, p. 641. "Fukien: China's Rich New Field for Archeology", and October, 1940, p. 496, "An Ancient Chinese Kiln Site".
28. Letter of C. J. Lin to Dean George H. Chase of Harvard, November 7, 1934.
29. W. Y. Chen (Ch'en Wen-ying) is the man whom "Time" designated as "China's No. 1. Christian".
30. The date of the address by C. J. Lin was December, 1934.
31. In the "Chinese Recorder", for November, 1936.
32. "De" stood for President Gowdy's Chinese name "Go-de", as pronounced in Foochow, and "Cong" for President Jones' name.

CHAPTER V: THE WAR YEARS

1. The full slogan was "K'ang Chan Chien Kuo", meaning "defend and fight, and reconstruct the nation".
2. President Gowdy once said that President Lin had more influence with the officials than any other Chinese he had known in Fukien in all his years in China.
3. See printed letter from Everett M. Stowe to "Friends of Fukien Christian University", June 1, 1940.
4. In a bulletin printed in 1942.
5. The information on pages 79 to 81 and 86 to 88 has been supplied by Dr. Everett Stowe.

CHAPTER VI: THE POSTWAR COLLEGE

1. John 12:24.
2. From a document in the archives, "In Memoriam C. J. Lin", anon.
3. Chapter II.

4. In defense of Chiang it should be said that in order to finish the War, he had had to make terms with the great landowners of the interior. These were the men who had been driven out by the Revolution. They agreed to back Chiang on condition that he stop all reform, since reform had driven them out. He had to agree, thus selling his country to save it.
5. The various disciplinary officers of the schools and colleges are on proscribed lists now.
6. "The Philosophy of the Lie" was a phrase of Eleanor Roosevelt's. See "International Life", April, 1947.
7. President Ch'en, largely for health reasons, had no intention of returning, but in the troubled conditions he seemed so qualified for office, that many of his friends did their best to believe the impossible where he was concerned.
8. "F. C. U." is the affectionate nickname of Fukien Christian University for all Fukien people, as well as for Westerners in Foochow.
9. It is unwise to mention names of persons prominent in the last years of freedom.
10. The allusion is to the Feast of the Epiphany, that of appearing to the Persian Magi. The joke has more point in Chinese, because the term used by the translators for "wise men" is the same as that now used for "Ph. D.'s".
11. The Communist army entered Foochow on August 17, 1949, Chiang's army having left the previous day.
12. Much humor was had over the Communist term for their rule, namely "liberation".
13. Report of W. P. Fenn to the presidents of the Christian Colleges.
14. The "Socialist government" is part of Li's story; his money having run out, he was walking down a street of Wellington when he saw a sign on a building to the effect that as New Zealand was a socialist state there were jobs for all. He walked in, told them he was a trained scientist and they at once put him to work on soil conservation, etc.
15. David Paton was the son of William Paton, one of the founders of the International Missionary Council and long

editor of the "International Review of Missions".

16. "Church of Christ" is ambiguous. "The Church of Christ in China" is the name of the new denomination embracing several types of Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists. "Church of Christ" means Church.
17. The name "Little Flock" is taken from Luke 12:32. In the prevailing uncertainty of those days many small fundamentalist groups flourished.
18. The date of this letter was May 9, 1949. The one Westerner on the "Committee of Six" was the Rev. T. R. Wilkinson.
19. This concluding section was written by Miss Eva Asher.

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